COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Virginia Historical & Philosophical Society,

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN ADDRESS,

SPOKEN BEFORE THE SOCIETY

AT AN

Adjourned Anniversary Meeting,

HELD IN THE HALL OF

THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,

ON

MONDAY, FEB. 4th, 1833.

BY JONATHAN P. CUSHING, A. M.
PRESIDENT OF HAMPDEN SIDNEY COLLEGE.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

The "VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY," was organized on the 29th December, 1831, by a few gentlemen, who assembled in the hall of the house of delegates—adopted a constitution—elected officers and appointed an orator to deliver the first anniversary address. A committee was also designated to prepare an address to the public, to explain the views of the society, and to invite the aid of men of intelligence and public spirit throughout the state. This address accordingly appeared in October, 1832, and concluded by recommending public attention to the following particulars or items of information, desired by the society, in order to promote its leading objects;—which several items or contributions, it was requested should be communicated to the librarian, for the use of the society—viz:

1. All books, pamphlets, records, and manuscripts, relative to the first settlement or subsequent history of this state; magazines, newspapers and other periodical publications, especially such as appeared before, or during the revolution; orations, sermons, discourses, essays and speeches, written or delivered in this state, and calculated to have a direct bearing on any important transaction or event.

2. Laws, journals or proceedings of the house of burgesses,—the general assembly, or any state convention; also, copies of treaties and negotiations between this state, and any other state or Indian tribe.

3. Narratives of the rise, progress and present condition of the different religious denominations, and of their various benevolent and charitable societies.

4. The transactions of political or literary societies; and statements of the origin, and influence of agricultural, manufacturing or commercial associations.

5. Statements of the origin, progress and present condition of the university,—the colleges, academies and schools; and also of the literary fund of the state, and the practical effect of the primary school system; historical sketches, and topographical descriptions of cities, counties and towns.

6. Narratives of the Indian tribes, their wars, battles and exploits; the nature of the original grants to the first settlers of this province; and also of their distinctive traits of character and peculiar customs.

7. Biographical memoirs of the first settlers, the revolutionary patriots, or persons eminent in the councils of the country or in any of the learned professions, or distinguished for their beneficent acts and individual sacrifices for the public good.

8. Communications and specimens relating to zoology or botany, or any other branch of natural history.

9. Facts and essays, connected with the geology of the state;—also, descriptions and drawings of mines, mineral springs, ancient fortifications, caverns, mountains, rivers, lakes, or any other natural curiosities.

10. Chymical facts and specimens; essays relating to any improvements in the various arts and sciences—particularly in agriculture; a statement of the effects of the different kinds of manure (viz. the vegetable, animal and mineral,) on the same or different soils.

11. Communications on the mineralogy of the state; every description of mineral specimens; viz. the different species of rocks, metallic substances,—earths,—salts,—coal formations, and petrifactions.

12. Essays on natural, mental or moral philosophy,—the philosophy of language,—the science of instruction; also on the state of morals,—the climate,—manufactures,—and commerce of any part of the state.

In consequence, it is believed, of the fatal epidemic, which prevailed in the country, together with the alarming aspect of political affairs, the regular anniversary meeting in January last was thinly attended, and circumstances having occasioned the absence of President Cushing, who had been chosen to deliver the address, the society adjourned until the first Monday in February. This latter meeting was fully attended. Upwards of thirty new members were admitted; various resolutions intended to advance and facilitate the operations of the society were adopted, and several valuable donations presented,—a list of which will be found in this volume. Two manuscripts only were among the donations—both of which have been deemed sufficiently valuable and interesting to deserve a place in this publication. The first, is an authentic narrative of Indian wars, and other occurrences on our western frontier, by the late Col. John Stuart, of Greenbrier, who was one of the actors in the principal scenes which he relates,—communicated by his son Charles A.

Stuart, Esq. of Augusta. The second, is the hitherto unpublished record of the trial of a female, in the year 1705, in Princess Anne county, for the crime of witchcraft,—an event in our state annals, which few have ever supposed to exist; and which furnishes a curious illustration of the sentiments and customs of our ancestors. This record, was presented by the late Archibald Taylor, Esq. of Gloucester,—and is regularly certified by the clerk of the court.

Notwithstanding the value of these manuscripts, the standing committee to whose discretion the subject was confided, would have hesitated with such scanty materials, to usher forth a volume of collections—if the resolution of the society to publish the constitution and President Cushing's address had not presented an opportunity too favorable to be neglected. When it is considered too, that the greatest undertakings and the most successful enterprises have had their origin in humble beginnings, the friends of the society ought to derive the strongest inducement to persevere, rather than to suffer discouragement from this first effort,—even if it should fail to satisfy public expectation. Abounding as Virginia does, in resources and materials for historical and philosophical research—and containing within her limits so many men of intelligence, education, and comparative leisure,—it is only necessary that the public attention should be thoroughly awakened, in order to produce a general conviction of the usefulness of our society—and one united exertion to advance its objects.

CONSTITUTION

Of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, as amended at the adjourned anniversary meeting on the 4th February, 1833.

ARTICLE I.

THIS Society, shall be denominated "*The Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society.*"

ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Society shall be to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, and literary history of this State; and to patronize and advance all those sciences which have a direct tendency to promote the best interests of our citizens.

ARTICLE III.

The Society shall consist of regular and honorary members.

ARTICLE IV.

The Officers of the Society to be elected annually, shall be a President, a First Vice President, a Second Vice President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and a Standing Committee of nine members, including the Recording Secretary,—any five of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE V.

Ten regular members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at the anniversary meetings.

ARTICLE VI.

It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, of either of the Vice Presidents, to preside at all meetings of the Society; to regulate the debates, and to preserve order; and in case an equal number of votes shall be given in the affirmative and negative on any question, the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

ARTICLE VII.

The Recording Secretary shall have the custody of the constitution, by-laws, records, and papers of the Society. He shall, by the direction of the President or Vice Presidents, give notice of the time and place of all meetings of the Society; and as soon as the Society is called to order at each of the regular meetings, he shall read the minutes of the preceding meeting, and shall keep an accurate record of all the orders and proceedings of the Society. He shall be ex-officio a member of the Standing Committee of the Society—shall attend the meetings thereof, and shall preserve a faithful record of their proceedings to be laid before the anniversary meetings.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and preserve all letters and communications of the Society; he shall attend all meetings,

and read such letters and communications as he may have received; he shall prepare all letters to be written in the name of the Society, which communications must receive the approbation of the President. He shall keep true copies of all letters written in the name of the Society, and preserve the originals of all letters and communications received.

ARTICLE IX.

The Treasurer shall receive and keep all sums of money due and payable, and all donations and bequests of money or other property made to the Society, which he shall dispose of as the Society may direct. He shall keep a true and faithful account of all monies received and paid by him, and render a particular statement of the same to the Society at its anniversary meetings.

ARTICLE X.

The Librarian shall receive and preserve, as the Society may direct, all the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts presented to, or purchased by the Society. He shall also be the keeper of the cabinet. Acting in this capacity, he shall receive, label, and arrange all the geological, mineralogical and chemical specimens; all natural curiosities, and all articles which are connected with the arts and sciences, that may be presented to the Society.

ARTICLE XI.

It shall be the duty of the Standing Committee to digest and prepare business for the Society—to recommend plans for promoting its objects, and to make a report to the annual meetings of the Society, of the principal acquisitions and transactions of the preceding year. The Standing Committee shall have power to fill vacancies occurring in their own body, by resignation or otherwise—the selections to be made from among the members of the Society.

ARTICLE XII.

The Governor, the Members of the Council, the Judges of the Court of Appeals and of the General Court, and the members of both branches of the Legislature shall have the privilege of attending the meetings of the Society, and of examining its library and cabinet.

ARTICLE XIII.

The anniversary meeting of this Society shall be held on the first Monday of January in each year, at which time the officers of the ensuing year shall be elected, and an address delivered by one of the regular members of the Society, who shall have been elected for that purpose at the preceding anniversary. The admission of members, the election of officers, and of the member to deliver the anniversary oration, shall be by the vote of the regular members of the Society. An alternate, shall be selected at each annual meeting to deliver an address in case of the absence of the member regularly appointed for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Constitution may be amended from time to time, as the Society at its annual meetings may deem proper; but all amendments must receive the concurrence of two thirds of the regular members present.

PRESIDENT CUSHING'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the society;—

I rise to perform a duty which you have been pleased to assign me for this occasion. No one can be more sensible than I am, of the honor conferred upon me, by this appointment;—but had it been left to me to consult my own feelings, and at the same time the interests of our infant society, the privilege of addressing you at this time, would have devolved on some other member, who could have set forth the claims of our association on public patronage, in a more able and interesting manner. Perhaps, too, it is due to myself to observe, that circumstances, which it is unnecessary to mention, have obliged me to appear before you without due preparation. But if any of the remarks, which I may offer, shall have a tendency to attract attention to the importance of the object for the promotion of which we have this night assembled, I shall have accomplished the end I have in view.

Mr. President, I congratulate all lovers of Virginia and her institutions, and all enlightened and liberal friends of practical improvement, and of the cultivation and diffusion of sound knowledge, on the formation of this society, whose benefits, it is hoped, will be felt, either directly or indirectly, by all classes of our citizens. If it be considered merely as affording a common focus, into which the rays of genius, wisdom and patriotism may be occasionally collected; a central point around which enlightened agriculturalists and gentlemen of the learned professions, the zealous patrons of literature and science, the enterprising advocates of public improvements and the arts, our statesmen, patriots and philanthropists of enlarged views, may rally once or twice a year, from all parts of this commonwealth, for the cultivation of social and friendly feelings, and the free interchange of opinions on subjects of common interest;—I say, if only these objects should be accomplished, this association would be productive of much good.

In consequence of the peculiar character of the class of laborers among us, and the kind of our staple commodities, a large portion of our talented and influential citizens, are necessarily located at a distance from each other, under circumstances which preclude frequent

intercourse, and which are very unfavorable for cherishing a spirit of mutual improvement. Were our citizens, instead of being sparsely scattered over an extensive surface, situated in villages, towns, and cities, and did they enjoy the incalculable advantages, arising from ease of access to each other, facility in interchanging their views and feelings, and union of efforts in effecting objects for the general good;—*then* we should see a powerful stimulus, constantly operating on a large portion of each community, urging them onward from one degree of improvement to another;—*then* in all probability, would be established associations for the promotion of literature, science and the arts, lyceums, public libraries, botanical gardens and such other institutions, as would be calculated to rouse curiosity, aid scientific research, and awaken a spirit of enterprise and general improvement throughout the state. The experience of all past ages, has most amply proved that such circumstances are highly favorable for calling forth the intellectual and moral energy of a people, and securing vigor of enterprise, concentration of effort, and unity and efficiency of action. Although, sir, our physical condition denies to us numerous privileges which are enjoyed by the inhabitants in many parts of Europe, and in some sections of our own country, (and which doubtless constitute the great secret of their alleged superiority) still much may be done to remedy our defects and supply our deficiencies; provided our operations for effecting these important results, shall be adapted to the nature of our condition, and pressed forward with an energy and perseverance, commensurate with the importance of the great objects to be accomplished.

Permit me, sir, to observe, that the constitution of this society, appears to have been framed, with a view to obviate some of the difficulties under which we labor. Its annual meetings are held here at the seat of government, at a time, when our executive, judicial and legislative departments are in session, and when circumstances are liable to exist, which will draw together at this place many enlightened and influential persons from the country:—also all our meetings and discussions are public; all, who choose, may attend them, and especial provision is made for any of those members of the three state departments, who may not join this society, so that they, at all times, can have free access to the library and cabinet, which may belong to the society. Thus besides the many advantages, that will naturally accrue to this association, from being located in the most populous city in the state, at present the centre of commercial enterprise, and from receiving the countenance and aid

of the many talented gentlemen, who necessarily reside at the seat of government:—it will, in all probability, receive very material assistance in carrying on its operations, from the co-operation of our legislators, who coming annually from every section of the commonwealth, can become important contributors to its advancement, and recipients and distributors of its benefits. By these means, it will be able to perform the same office in our civil economy, that the heart does in the animal:—it will send forth, through all the various ramifications of our state, genial warmth and appropriate nourishment.

But, sir, irrespective of these collateral, but highly important advantages, if we take into consideration simply the benefits which will doubtless be derived, from the valuable communications which may be laid before the society, and the discussions on subjects connected with the highest interests of the state, which will probably take place during its annual meetings, this association will be worthy of special attention. Our members, following different pursuits, and coming from different parts of the state, will be brought in contact under circumstances well calculated to awaken intense energy, "to elicit powers that would otherwise lie dormant, and stimulate the mind to its highest exertion,"—to arouse curiosity, and excite a laudable emulation in the investigation of truth; and while communicating and receiving the results of each others researches, we shall "apply to each other a constant stimulus, by which continued progress will be made, in all that adorns man as an intellectual being, and gives elevation to his mental character." "Science, like fire, is put in motion by collision." Sir, the experience of every enlightened period of the world, bears testimony to the truth that the communion of cultivated minds, gives a powerful impetus to the onward movement of intellect, and all human improvements.

The present high state of advancement in literature, science and the arts, is more indebted to the influence exerted by literary and scientific societies, than to any other, perhaps to all other causes.—Allow me then, sir, to turn your attention for a moment to the history of these nurseries of knowledge. The first association of scientific men, since the time when learning emerged from Gothic night, appears to have been formed about the middle of the seventeenth century. The celebrated Robert Boyle succeeded in forming a small club of the lovers of learning, as early as 1645, which in 1662 was incorporated by Charles II. by the name of the Royal Society of London. This institution published its first volume of

transactions in 1665, and since that time it has given to the world one hundred and seventeen volumes. This work is of immense value to Great Britain, and has at all times been regarded as the standard of English science. About the same period (1652) the Academia Naturæ Curiosorum, was formed in Germany; the Academia del Cimento of Florence (1667;) the Institute of Bologna in Italy; and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris (1666.) The last is now called the Institute of France. All these societies have enriched the republic of letters by their published transactions and collections. It is worthy of particular observation, that all these associations were formed within the space of twenty years of each other, and probably were the direct and legitimate effects of the influence of Lord Bacon's inductive system of philosophising. There appears to have been a simultaneous bursting forth of genius in most of the civilized parts of Europe. All, who are acquainted with the history of learning, need not be informed of the powerful projectile force that the best and highest interests of man received from the combined influence of these societies. They were composed of the most active and profound philosophers of the times, who had united for the purpose of comparing their views with each other, and discussing and investigating the various subjects, which claimed the attention of the scientific world. From that period to the present, similar institutions have been formed in all of the most prominent parts of Europe.

The first society, for the promotion of science, which was established in this country, was the American Philosophical Society, formed at Philadelphia in 1769, and chartered in 1780. Its founder and persevering supporter, was the prince of American philosophers, the American Franklin. As soon as the beneficial effects of this society were fully perceived, similar institutions were established in other parts of our country. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts in 1780; the Historical Society at Boston in 1791 (it has published twenty-two volumes of historical collections;) the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1799; the United States Military Philosophical Society at West Point in 1802; the New York Historical Society in 1804 (four volumes of collections;) and within the last twenty-five years, kindred institutions have been formed in almost every part of our country. These institutions, sir, by the aid and direction which they have given to modest worth and aspiring genius, by the mighty and persevering spirit for philosophical research, which they have elicited and nurtured; by the immense mass of highly interesting and valuable mat-

ter, which they have secured, and at intervals published for the information of the public at large;—have done much, very much, for the rapid progression of all those useful arts and sciences, which, in a great degree, constitute what may be termed the *bone and muscle* of the prosperity and glory of our country. Although we have been too far removed from the scene of these operations, to enjoy the many advantages arising from a participation in their active pursuits, yet, through the medium of the many inventions, discoveries, and essays, which have resulted from their efficient labors, we have received from them great and lasting benefits. But, sir, if we are not visionary in our conjectures, the time has arrived, when some, in our own state, have determined, not only to be recipients of that stream of knowledge which is rapidly rising in our *united* republic, but also to be contributors to that vast tide of improvement which is fast swelling over the surface of our land of free institutions, and which, we fondly hope, is destined ultimately to visit in its onward movement, every—even the darkest portion of the habitable globe. Yes, sir, this determination prompted a few of those now present, to act.—Feeling that there was great need, in our extended commonwealth, of a society, which would concentrate the intellectual and moral energies of our enlightened citizens generally, inspire a deep and invigorating ardor in the cause of individual and public improvement, *they* spontaneously met, in this place, a year since, and formed the nucleus of this association. It was, indeed, commenced *in weakness*, but present prospects indicate, that it will be carried on with *constantly increasing strength.*

But let us turn more particularly to the leading objects of our institution. We find a definite and full exposition of them set forth in the first article of our constitution; which is as follows: "*The objects of this society shall be to procure and preserve whatever relates to the natural, civil and literary history of this state, and to patronize as far as practicable all those sciences and arts, which have a direct tendency to promote the best interests of our citizens.*" Sir, my mind cannot conceive of objects more worthy the attention and efforts of a true patriot, and a devoted philanthropist, than these.

Allow me, sir, to dwell on some of them for a few minutes. The history of all nations, whether barbarous or civilized, has established this important fact; that no influence is generally more powerful and uniform in its operation on mankind, than that which arises from a correct knowledge of the manners, customs and illustrious deeds of their ancestors. I know, sir, it will not be necessary for me to direct the

attention of this audience to the innumerable instances on record, where this influence has operated to nerve the arm and fire the breast of the warrior, to kindle and feed the flame of patriotism in the bosom of the civilian, and to call forth the highest aspirations of the philanthropist and the scholar. This influence has not only constituted one of the strongest incentives to national enterprise, but in a great degree, the controlling and modifying power of thought and action, in the countless operations in private life. This accords with the principles of our nature. It has been correctly said by a profound philosopher, "that the love of country and of its institutions and its distinguished benefactors, is as natural to man, as is the love of those who are endeared to him by his earliest, his most pleasing, and most permanent associations." When this love is pure and fervent and exercised in consistency with due respect to the rights of all mankind, it is "the virtue of patriotism." He who cherishes such a love of country, always has a deep sense of obligation to his country's benefactors, and to that Being, who, in his infinite mercy, is the bestower of every blessing enjoyed by man. Sir, every generation of civilized beings, must feel, that it is indebted for a large portion of its prosperity to the energy and virtue of those that have preceded it. This feeling always awakens a curiosity to know the history of the past; and *what*, I would ask, is more characteristic of a noble feeling than an ardent desire to become intimately acquainted with the characters of past actors, who are justly celebrated for their worth and wisdom? and "to cherish that mingled sentiment of awe and admiration, which takes possession of the soul," while contemplating the "monuments of intellectual and moral power?"

Believing, sir, as every American must do, that so exalted were the sentiments and so illustrious the achievements of our forefathers, that a correct and minute knowledge of them will be productive of great good, not only to Americans in all time to come, by enabling them rightly to appreciate the deeds of their ancestors, and stimulating them to emulate their virtues by noble efforts to advance the best interests of man, but also to the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty throughout the world, by showing despots their weakness, and animating the hopes of the oppressed; believing this, we, as patriots and philanthropists, are called on to do all in our power, to obtain and preserve the materials for a correct history of our country.

Sir, other nations have had their sages, poets, orators and philosophers, who are justly celebrated for their splendid productions. But where can we point to a people, either past or present, who have

more cause, than Americans, to be proud of the achievements of their predecessors? It is true, we cannot point to a long list of poets and philosophers, nor can we equal some of the ancient states, in elevating our ancestors above "the condition of humanity and tracing them back to fabled giants and heroes;" but we can point with becoming complacency to a band of patriots, heroes, and statesmen, who, by their exalted purpose and purity of motive, by their bold daring in the field, and wisdom in council, exhibited a higher degree of moral sublimity, than has ever been witnessed since the days of the martyrs. We do not venerate their memories, simply because they bravely fought and freely bled:—this they might have done, prompted by the same feeling of revenge, which impels savage tribes to bloody wars and horrid massacres; or by the same wild fanaticism, which converted the fairest portions of the old world into a charnel-house; but, sir, we venerate them, (their memories are hallowed in the inmost recesses of the soul,) because they magnanimously breasted that torrent of tyrannical oppression, which threatened to sweep away every vestige of stipulated rights, and jeopárded their all, to secure for themselves and posterity, one of the noblest objects of which the human mind can conceive; *liberty of thought, action and conscience.* We all feel, that they have bequeathed to us their descendants, the richest legacy ever inherited by any nation; may God grant, that we may also feel that in proportion to the value of the trust committed to us, is our responsibility. [I wish this responsibility could be felt in all its length, breadth and depth, by those in our country who appear to be desirous of balancing our happy union with a penny.] Let us endeavor to feel and act on all occasions as we have reason to believe, "they would wish—doubtless, they would wish us to estimate rightly the value of their lives and services," and portray them in appropriate colors for the contemplation of future generations: "they would exhort us to manifest our sentiments of regard, not merely by praises, but by the practice of the virtues which make us at once happy and useful, by emulating their industry in seeking knowledge and doing good; by holding in due estimation the public blessings which they labored and suffered to secure, and by a perpetual co-operation in maintaining and advancing the welfare of our common country."

It is to be presumed that every American patriot must feel the immense importance of collecting the materials for compiling for the benefit of posterity, a correct and complete history of our country; but it may be asked, what will be the *best means* of effecting this

object? From the peculiar nature of our government and other circumstances which have a controlling influence, probably it can be best effected by each state collecting the materials for its own history. This subject has been already attended to by most of our sister states. Their enlightened and enterprising citizens, have formed Antiquarian, Historical, and various other associations for collecting together every fact and every circumstance, which will throw the least light on their past history. But, heretofore, Virginia, although from peculiar circumstances, she ought to contain the richest materials for history, has been quite too inattentive to the important subject of collecting and embodying them. Whatever has already been done on this subject, is the result of individual efforts. All such efforts from the nature of the case, must have been partial and inefficient. It would not be easy for one person to ascertain, in all respects, where authentic information could be had, and if this were done, it is not probable that all those possessing such information, would be willing to commit it to the disposal of one individual, and he too a perfect stranger. It appears, that difficulties of this kind, had to be encountered by one of the most highly gifted citizens of the state. Mr. Wirt in the preface to his life of Patrick Henry, states that he was engaged about ten years in collecting the materials for that work, and although he enjoyed the kind assistance of the best informed gentlemen in the state, still he observes "that he has not been able to inform himself of the whole events of Mr. Henry's life, and that his collection can be considered only as so many detached sketches." When we take into consideration the circumstances under which the historians of this state have had to labor, we ought not to be surprised at what all competent judges must admit to be the fact, that the *present histories of Virginia are quite defective;* that no one of them, or all of them combined do not contain a complete compilation of those facts, and a correct delineation of those characters for which Virginia is so justly celebrated, and indeed, which ought to constitute by far the richest portions of her history. These historians seemed to have had it in view simply to detail the physical action of her sons, and not to notice their intellectual efforts and moral worth. It is in vain we turn to the published records of the state for a correct view of the elevated sentiment, the noble sacrifices, the daring enterprise, and the unyielding purpose for which very many of the patriots and philanthropists of this state were distinguished during our revolutionary struggle for liberty. Those who are now on the stage of active life, having received, in all probability, a large part of their knowledge of

these things from *living sources*, perhaps do not experience much loss or inconvenience from the defects to which we refer; but, sir, the rising generation which is pressing rapidly upon our heels, and all posterity, will be very differently circumstanced. In all human probability, they will not enjoy the benefit of consulting living oracles, but will have to *depend entirely* on the faint and uncertain light of history, for all their information of the past. Yes, sir, if things remain as they now are, generation after generation as they rise in countless succession, will be deprived of incalculable blessings. Even now, where shall the aspiring youth of Virginia be directed, to learn the characters of the Wythes, the Randolphs, the Lees, the Nelsons, the Blands, the Masons, and a host of other worthies, that a laudable emulation may be enkindled in their *youthful* bosoms, the purest patriotism instilled, and all those noble and virtuous principles of the soul called forth, which will urge them on to make every acquisition, that will enable them to become ornaments and blessings to our country and to mankind? If such characters were faithfully portrayed in our histories and brought within the reach of our youth, it would, from the very nature of man, be productive of the most happy and salutary consequences. All whose privilege it has been, to direct the operations of the expanding intellects of youth, must have observed what trifling circumstances frequently give a new impulse and an entirely new tone and direction to the whole mind, and must also have observed, "how much of what is commonly called genius, or at least, how much of the secondary direction of genius, which marks its varieties, and gives it a specific distinctive character," depends on accidents of the slightest kind. And all who are acquainted with the natural tendencies of human nature, have marked the fact, "that men are prone to think and feel, as their ancestors have thought and felt, and to make up their principles by inheritance, and defend them, as they would their estates, *because they are born heirs to them.*"

If these things be so, it may be asked, where is the Virginian who will not consider his time and talents most profitably employed in assisting to procure the means which will enable posterity rightly to contemplate the virtues of those worthies who were distinguished by a generous disinterestedness—incorruptible integrity—undaunted firmness—a pure and enlarged benevolence—and a love of country, which prompted to the sacrifice of emolument, property, and all that is held dear in domestic life, for the glory of their country, and the happiness of man! The moral influence of such noble examples of

patriotism, wisdom and virtue, if properly brought to bear, will act with mighty power on the characters of "millions yet unborn."

Something has already been done on this subject. The life of the father of his country, by our worthy president, Chief Justice Marshall, is undoubtedly held in high estimation by all, and needs no comment from me. The life of Virginia's orator, the celebrated Patrick Henry, by Mr. Wirt, is a valuable work, and its value will be more fully appreciated by posterity than by the present generation. Besides a lucid and glowing, but diffuse *sketch* of Mr. Henry, we are indebted to this work for many corrected historical facts, and for some striking views of the characters of other eminent persons, who have not been so fully and distinctly presented to the public by any other writer. But, permit me to observe, that in my opinion, the best history of the intellectual and moral advancement of society in Virginia, is to be found in "Hening's Statutes at Large." The laws of a country generally furnish substantial criteria by which we may form a correct opinion of the changes of public sentiment, and advancement in the moral feeling of a people.

A complete history of this state, ought to contain not only a full account of the political, civil and military transactions, but a clear and concise exposition of the characters of its warriors, statesmen, jurists and scholars, and also a view of its physical resources connected with natural history, and of the advancement of the arts and sciences. The want of a history of the state such as mentioned, is greatly to be deplored by all. It is said, that "in the confusion produced by the invasion of Richmond during the revolution, many of the public documents were lost; and those that remain are a mere chaotic heap, having never been reduced to order." There has been as yet no special effort made to supply this deficiency. There have been no Antiquarian or Historical Societies established, to embody every thing that would throw light on the history of the state. Our public libraries do not contain those "rare books and manuscripts" necessary for a full exposition of historical facts; these materials now lie scattered throughout the country; some of them perhaps lie hid in foreign libraries.

Sir, we need not say to any present, that Virginia will be inattentive to her highest, her dearest interests, if she neglects to take all the necessary steps to supply these deficiencies. This society it is believed, can do much in behalf of this subject, provided we immediately and energetically enter upon a system of means, with the view of searching out, collecting and preserving all books, papers,

manuscripts and every species of information which relate to the past history of the state. We are aware that in accomplishing this object many obstacles will present themselves. It will be difficult in many instances to ascertain precisely where information can be had; much doubtless lies in unsuspected sources; and it is possible, that some of those who have valuable matter in their possession, will be unwilling to part with it. Such difficulties will be overcome in a great measure by the combined energies of this society. It is believed, that shortly its members will be scattered throughout every portion of the commonwealth, and each one will make it a prominent object in his daily pursuits to search out and obtain every species of knowledge relating to these subjects. It is also believed that our legislators, gentlemen of the liberal professions, and all others, who feel an interest in every circumstance that will tend to advance the prosperity of the country, will *cheerfully* lend their aid to such efforts of the society.

But in order to accomplish all that is valuable on this subject, *immediate* and *vigorous* exertions ought to be put forth. Delay will be highly injurious. In all probability, much very valuable matter relating to past events, is already irrecoverably lost. Many important papers, doubtless, have been destroyed through neglect; and nearly all those patriots of the revolution, have been removed by death, who could have communicated much highly important and interesting information concerning the public and private transactions of their time, which we fear has not been left on record. These circumstances should admonish us to commence our operations instantly, to secure that which now remains.

It is reasonable to suppose, that there are now in the possession of the worthy descendants of those patriots, many important historical manuscripts and recorded facts, which, from the operation of natural causes, are liable to be scattered and lost. Many of them insulated as they now are, will, in most instances, be considered by those who possess them, of little or no importance, and therefore not worth preserving. When viewed separately, doubtless, some of them may appear to be of little or no value, but when they are collected and compared with other statements relating to the same events, they may be of immense importance in elucidating obscure facts, and confirming statements, which tend to exhibit the real causes and effects of great public transactions; or to develope the operating motives of those individuals, whose public enterprises or private exertions and sacrifices, have had an important bearing on

the great interests of our country. Every recorded or authenticated fact, anecdote, or any circumstance, which tends directly or indirectly to throw light on any past public or interesting private transaction, or to exhibit the characters of the actors, or to show what was the kind and the influence of public sentiment at particular periods, is of great value and ought not to be lost. It is hoped, therefore, that all those persons, possessing such original documents, (although there may have been an unwillingness to entrust them to private individuals,) will cheerfully confide them to the care of this society, in whose custody they will be preserved for the benefit of posterity and the public at large. It is also hoped, if proper and prompt steps shall be taken by our members, that those patriots of the revolution, whose lives, by the blessing of a kind Providence, have been prolonged to the present time, and also that all other citizens who by their peculiar situation in life, have obtained any specific knowledge respecting important public or private events connected with the state, may be induced to commit to writing, and forward to this society, a narration of such facts as they may think ought to be preserved for the information of the public.

Perhaps, sir, it may be well, in order to throw light on our path, for our association, in relation to these subjects, to communicate with those individuals in different parts of the country, who probably can direct us to important sources of information.

By these means many highly interesting facts, will be obtained, which, if not recorded immediately, must be lost to the world, and also a very large number of valuable papers will be rescued from the obscurity of private repositories, where they are liable to be destroyed or lost by the operation of incidental circumstances. Yes, sir, it is confidently believed, that by the instrumentality of this society, much can be done to collect and preserve the "scattered fragments, and perishing memorials" of the past, provided we act unitedly and perseveringly on the subject. Without such documents, as those to which we have referred, every enlightened person must admit, that the history of this state, will be incorrect and defective. All such matter, when embodied and deposited in the library of this society, will constitute a rich treasure not only to the antiquary, the historian, and the scholar, but to the state, and its executive, judicial and legislative departments.

But, sir, another object of this society, as indicated by its name, is the cultivation of philosophy, or in other words, the encourage-

ment and advancement of philosophical researches. Here is opened before us a rich and extensive field of inquiry.

All the powers and operations which have been discovered in the universe, and which the mind of man is capable of comprehending, may be referred to the properties either of *matter* or *mind*. The philosophy of matter, may be divided into three distinct sciences, viz. Natural history, natural philosophy, and chymistry. The philosophy of mind, into four sciences, viz. Mental philosophy, moral philosophy, political economy, and natural theology.

Whatever comes within the scope of either of these extensive departments of science, may be considered a legitimate object of investigation for our society. It is pleasing to cherish the hope, that as our association advances in magnitude and vigor, there will be such a spirit of philosophical research excited in its members, that no region of human knowledge will be left wholly unexplored. But, at the present time, we will advert to those branches of science, which, perhaps, were expected to claim our more immediate attention, and for the advancement of which, all of us can more directly contribute. We will first turn your attention to natural history.

This science embraces, geology, mineralogy, botany, and zoology. Some of these branches are of more practical utility than others; such we shall notice more particularly as we pass on. Geology, although it presents a most interesting field of inquiry, has received but little attention until within a few years past. In former times, geology consisted of a series of visionary speculations, to account for the formation and changes of our globe; but within the last half century, it has assumed an entirely new character, and has now become a science reared upon numerous and accurate observations of facts; and, therefore, has assumed a rank among those sciences, which stand upon the basis of induction. It is not difficult, now, for a skilful geologist, from an examination of the exterior substances of the earth, to become acquainted with its interior structure.

In America, there were no combined efforts made for investigating the geology of our country, until 1820, when the men of science in different parts of the United States, assembled at New Haven and formed the American Geological Society. Through the influence of that society many parts of our country have been explored, and a mass of geological facts and specimens collected together, and noticed by our scientific journals. Thus, an interest has been excited, which promises much for the future.

The science of mineralogy, which is intimately connected with

that of geology, is also in its infancy in our country. This science has a very important and extensive range; its object is to describe and classify the different objects of inorganic matter, and to explain their peculiar properties and uses. Every substance which is not the immediate product of some organized body, belongs to the mineral kingdom; and all such substances are divided by mineralogists, into four classes. (The first includes all earthy compounds, such as the topaz, quartz, diamond; the second, saline substances; the third, inflammable bodies, such as sulphur, coal, peat, &c.; the fourth, metals or metalic ores.) The importance of this science cannot be well overrated. Whether it be viewed as tending to increase individual wealth, to improve agriculture, and multiply arts and manufactures, and thus promote the public good; "or as affording a pleasant subject of scientific research," it recommends itself to the attention of the citizen, and the scholar.

The mineralogy of the United States is now admitted to be as rich and as valuable as that of any other country. Our statesmen of enlarged views, as well as the devotees of science, have, for some time past, perceived the immense advantages that will be derived to our country from a thorough investigation of its mineral treasures. To secure this important object, geological and mineralogical societies have been formed in nearly all of the old, and in many of the new states. Within the last ten years, the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and probably some others, perceiving that a correct knowledge of their mineral resources, and a proper application of them, would greatly increase their physical power and means of internal improvement, have appropriated from time to time, funds, to secure accurate and minute geological and mineralogical surveys of their respective territories. In this way, all their citizens have it in their power to ascertain the properties and locations of the different species of rocks, ores, coal, natural soils, chymical manures, and mineral waters in each section of the country. Thus, the interests of individuals, and of the state, as well as of science, are promoted.

Thus far experience has proved, that the more the mineral treasures are explored, the more they abundantly repay the research; and we trust that shortly, we shall no longer ignorantly tread under our feet or permit to remain unobserved minerals of great curiosity and value, and "import from other countries, frequently at great expense, what we possess abundantly, at home."

There can be no doubt, sir, but that Virginia is *as rich* in geolo-

gical and mineralogical productions as any of her sister states. The aspect of our country is marked by striking and prominent characteristics, indicating a great variety in its geological structure. Our mountains and valleys contain valuable minerals, and abound in medicinal waters, and the middle and lower sections of the state, possess many highly important chymical and mineralogical formations. But, as yet, these subjects have been but little attended to, by our citizens.

Without attempting a complete enumeration of the various minerals which have already been discovered, in the state; we will mention some of them. Many of the rocks, belonging to the three great classes, viz. the primitive, secondary, and transition, have been found here. Among the number, are, granite, gneis, mica, quartz, soapstone, shorl, asbestus, hornblende, garnet, and limestone. Also some of the more important metals have been discovered, viz. tin, zinc, lead, copper, silver, iron, gold, and barites. Besides the substances mentioned, chalk, salt wells and licks, coal, gypsum, and several species of marl, have been long known to exist in the state.

The limestone of the valley is of very good quality, and, as our internal improvements progress, will increase in value. It is said there are different species of marble in the neighborhood of James River, which could be used in the arts to great advantage. The western mountains contain inexhaustible mines of iron ore, of the richest quality; some of them are worked with considerable profit. The salt works in Washington county are, in time of peace, a source of great profit to the owners, and an extensive convenience to a large section of the western country, but in time of war, they will prove to be national blessings. Bituminous coal has been discovered in various parts of the state; extensive mines of it, we all know, have been worked to great profit for many years. This coal possesses some valuable properties, which will secure for it an increasing demand from abroad. The gypsum found in Washington county, in great quantities, is said to be as valuable as that brought from Nova Scotia, and is now applied to similar purposes, by the farmers of western Virginia and Tennessee. Plaster in small quantities, has been also found in many other parts of the state; and it is probable, that if proper search were made, valuable beds of it would be discovered both in middle and lower Virginia.

In almost every section of lower Virginia there are immense beds of marl, containing from sixty to eighty per cent. of lime. Until lately this marl has been considered by the inhabitants of that coun-

try rather a nuisance than a blessing. But, within a few years past, some of their more enlightened farmers have made many conclusive experiments with marl as a manure in cultivation, and have proved that their marl and other marine deposits constitute an invaluable treasure, and if properly applied, are capable of redeeming and greatly enriching the whole tide-water country.

Permit me to observe, sir, in passing, that the spirit of inquiry on this subject has been excited principally by the successful experiments and judicious observations on calcareous manures, which have been carried on for the last ten years by Edmund Ruffin, Esq. of Prince George. From the work on calcareous manures, which he has lately given to the world, it is evident that he is not only a *practical operator*, but a *scientific cultivator*. His book is a work of solid merit. All such efforts augur well for the agricultural interests of the state.

But to return. The mineral springs among our western mountains are not surpassed, in variety or medicinal properties, by those of any other country in the world. Chalybeate springs are found in every section of the country. The hot and warm, the white, the salt, and the red sulphur springs, possess properties peculiar to themselves; but all of them have been found efficacious in the cure of those diseases incident to our cities and alluvial country. It is to be greatly regretted, sir, that these springs have not been accurately analyzed, and their properties made known to the world. Such an analysis would be of incalculable benefit to the public at large, but especially to physicians and patients, who reside at a distance.

This concise enumeration, includes nearly all the mineralogical facts, which have been discovered in the state. But these facts, when we take into consideration, that most of them were discovered by accident, are sufficient to prove, that, in all probability, the mineral resources of Virginia are very extensive and valuable. It is believed, that there are but few subjects more worthy of public patronage, or that would be productive of more extensive benefits to our citizens, than a complete geological and mineral survey of the whole state. But we have no reason to believe that this desirable object can be secured immediately. There is, however, no doubt, but that this society can, by its united efforts, render important aid for its accomplishment; by collecting and classifying the various minerals, geological facts, and natural curiosities, which may be obtained from all parts of our country. In this way it will not be difficult to form an extensive cabinet of minerals and a museum of na-

tural curiosities here at the capital of the state. Such an establishment will be not only an object of interest to all intelligent visitors, but a source of highly important information to the naturalist, agriculturist, and statesman. If our legislators will co-operate with us in this enterprise, they can give us important assistance, by affording a medium of direct and easy communication, annually, between this society and every citizen in this commonwealth. When it shall be generally known that there is established at the seat of government, a common place of deposite for minerals, and that those specimens which are forwarded to it will be examined and perhaps analyzed by competent persons, there will be no difficulty in rapidly increasing our cabinet. I apprehend, sir, that, as we progress in collecting specimens, men of science, for the sake of their own improvement and that of others, will most willingly assist in examining and analyzing them. By these simple means, much valuable information can be distributed among our citizens, and great good be done.

The other departments of the philosophy of matter, viz: natural philosophy and chymistry, from their great practical utility, as well as the scope they afford for the developement of intellect and the cultivation of genius, are highly worthy the attention and patronage of our association.

It may be safely affirmed, that these sciences, since the revival of learning, and especially within the last half century, have made more rapid advances in the march of improvement, and contributed more efficient aid to the progressive advancement of civilization and refinement, than any other department of human knowledge.

For their cultivation, genius and talent of the highest order, have been engaged, whose ingenious inventions and brilliant discoveries, form a luminous track in the field of scientific research. So rapid have been the developements of new principles in these sciences, that the profound discoveries of Bacon, Descartes, Galilio, Kepler, and Newton, are now classed as elementary principles. All the improvements and discoveries in these two sciences, are susceptible of immediate application to useful purposes, and thus become the common property of man. There is not a single branch of industry, that has not been either directly or indirectly assisted by them. They extend their aid alike to the artist, the agriculturist, and the scholar, and confer great blessings on all classes of society.

These remarks, will apply more particularly to chymistry. This science, pursuing the analytic method of investigating truth, has, within the last forty years, advanced with a rapidity and splendor

unequalled in the annals of philosophy. It has explored with astonishing success the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms; and by elucidating their phenomena, and developing their elementary principles, has contributed more, than all other causes, to produce the great modern improvements in medicine, agriculture, animal economy, and indeed, in all the arts, and most of the sciences.

It is worthy of remark, that some of the discoveries in this science, which at first did not attract much attention, have, by their subsequent applications, yielded invaluable blessings to mankind. For instance, the discovery of latent heat, made by the celebrated Dr. Black, did not attract much notice, nor was its importance conjectured even by philosophers, until after the *ingenious Watt* had applied its principles to practice, which ultimately resulted in the invention of the steam engine;—emphatically the richest gift that science has bestowed on the arts. No one, at the present day, need be informed, that the elastic force of steam, is not only the most efficient, but the most useful physical power within the control of man. All present are, doubtless, well aware of the immense, the varied, and the rapidly increasing advantages, it affords to all classes of society. I will only observe, that, some time since, the French philosophers minutely "calculated the value of James Watt to his country at £116,000 per day." Who, sir, I would ask, what philosopher can "calculate the value of Fulton to his country—but more especially to the whole world."

Time will not permit me even to touch on the many interesting discoveries which have been made in this science, or their useful applications to the various arts. We would observe, however, that some of the principles of matter, which chymistry has disclosed, have a very important bearing on the best interests of agriculture.

Agriculture, is a subject, which, as it constitutes the great source of our prosperity, cannot fail to claim the attention of this society, and enlist in behalf of its advancement every patriot in the state. To adapt the mode of cultivation to the nature of the different kinds of soil, so as to secure the best results, requires a scientific acquaintance with all the principles concerned. Here chymistry lends its aid to the enlightened agriculturist, and unfolds to him the elements of which the different soils and manures are composed, their properties in a simple or combined state, and the effects of their action on each other.

In most of our sister states, as we all know, agricultural societies heve been formed and extensively patronized; and the history

of their operations, has proved that they have been highly beneficial to the country, both by exciting a laudable emulation among their members, and by securing and publishing to the world many interesting and valuable essays on agriculture. In this state, there have been two or three local associations of a similar character, but their operations have never been made known to the public, and, of course, must have had a limited influence. It is, I think sir, to be greatly regretted that there are not agricultural societies in every important section of the state, and all of them auxiliary to a parent society, whose annual meetings are held in this city. Such a system would be attended by the happiest consequences to the whole state. But under present circumstances, it is probable that this society, as a large portion of its members will be composed of intelligent planters, can do something to excite an interest and collect knowledge on the most important subjects connected with the agriculture of this state.

Should this society each year select one or more subjects on agriculture, for the mutual discussion of its members at its next anniversary, and should essayists be selected to write on similar subjects, and also, should our standing committee from time to time solicit, through the public prints, communications from our planters of such facts and conclusions as have been founded on observation and experience; we say should such measures be adopted, in all probability, a considerable interest would be excited not only among our members, but throughout many parts of our country, and much valuable matter obtained on agricultural pursuits.

It must be evident to every reflecting mind, that unless a powerful spirit for agricultural improvements shall be speedily created, and successful efforts made to redeem our lands, and make them *far* more productive than they now are, a very considerable portion of our enterprising citizens will be induced to leave the *graves of their fathers*, and their native state, for other regions,—where their energetic exertions will be crowned with adequate success.

But, sir, I will pass to the other branch of our subject; the philosophy of mind;—the object of which, is to investigate the various principles of our intellectual and moral nature—or, in other words, the laws of human thought and feeling.

On a knowledge of these principles, all mental and moral culture, and all adaptation of government and laws, to modify and improve the condition of individuals or of nations, depend. He alone, who is well acquainted with the true principles of human nature, is qualified to adapt means to secure wise and beneficial ends, and to control

or influence rational and moral beings. "While others dogmatize, he reasons, while others theorize, he builds on the sure foundation of rigorous induction."

We have already observed, that this department of philosophy may be divided into four distinct sciences; all of which, come within the scope of our investigations. Should this society succeed in exciting a spirit of research into all or any of these important branches of knowledge, it will probably, confer a lasting benefit on mankind.

But, sir, in order that my remaining remarks may be particularly practical in their bearing, I shall confine them to one of the many and highly interesting subjects which are connected with this branch of philosophy; I refer to the *science* of *instruction;* a subject, which, from its extensive influence on the happiness of man, should not be passed by, in an enumeration of those objects, that ought to claim the attention of this society. This may be considered a science of the highest order; some, however, suppose that teaching is a simple art, which is very easily acquired, and that any person who has a certain portion of knowledge, is a perfectly well qualified instructor of youth. This is a very common, but a most pernicious error.

The history of learning most fully proves, that a person may possess good talents, and be a considerable proficient in learning, and still not be a discriminating and successful instructor. It is in vain, that any one can expect to succeed in teaching, who does not possess elevated ideas of his occupation and a facility in imparting knowledge, and who does not take great delight in instructing youth, and feel deep solicitude for their daily progress and future prosperity. In the science of instruction, there is full scope for the best talents and largest acquirements. All the elevated qualities either of mind or heart, which are necessary to secure success in any of the learned professions, are essential to the accomplished instructor.

I would also observe, sir, that the common opinion of what ought to constitute a complete system of education, is, in some important respects, incorrect.

A system of education to be complete, should comprehend, the developing, strengthening, and maturing all the human powers.—These powers are divided into three great classess; *the physical, intellectual, and moral.* All of which, in order to secure the highest degree of improvement, and the most perfect symmetry of which they are susceptible, should be fully and duly cultivated.

That our youth may possess that vigor of constitution, which is necessary to prepare them for energetic action in the various stations

in life,—the physical, as well as the moral and intellectual powers, should be exercised.

Physical education has received in Europe, for some time past, that attention, which its great importance demands; but in this country the subject has excited no interest until lately. Within the last six or eight years, some experiments have been made at the north on the subject; by the introduction of gymnastic exercises into some of our colleges; by the establishment of a species of high school on the plan of the German gymnasium; and also by forming manual labor academies, where each student is required to perform manual labor, during a part of each day. The result of these experiments has proved conclusively, the practicability and importance of connecting physical with intellectual exertion. It is to be hoped, that the time is not far distant, when the importance of this subject will be so generally seen and felt; that public sentiment will require that horticultural and agricultural pursuits, and perhaps some of the mechanic arts, shall be connected with the university and the colleges and academies in the state; so that students during the hours of relaxation from their arduous studies may have an opportunity, of enriching their minds with valuable practical knowledge, at the same time that they are making that physical exertion absolutely necessary for the health and vigor of their bodies. Such pursuits, by affording students the means of making a direct and easy application of the principles of some of the most useful sciences, will have a happy tendency to make them practical and efficient citizens.

If these positions are correct, the object of a complete system of education should be; to cultivate the physical powers;—to develope, expand, and invigorate, in their due proportions, all the intellectual faculties;—to elicit, improve, and elevate, the various active principles and moral susceptibilities of man;—and also, to afford the appropriate and requisite materials for a solid erudition. Such a system of instruction would be well calculated to prepare youth for rightly performing all the duties, which may arise from their relations in life, as physical, rational, and moral beings.

There certainly can be no truth more evident, than this, that every system of education, intended for the instruction of man, should be based on a philosophical analysis of his nature. Such a system properly applied, cannot fail to secure to the student a regular and efficient progress in intellectual and moral culture.

But, sir, how different from this, is the system of instruction too prevalent in our country? Every enlightened person, who has

turned his attention to this subject, must have perceived that a large portion of the instruction given to our youth, is better calculated to pervert, than improve the powers of the mind;—that there is more money paid every year for *mechanical drilling*, than for *mental instruction;* and that we train all our other powers more skilfully and judiciously than those of the mind.

Permit me, sir, to hint at some of the causes of this radical defect.

One of the principal is, the great inattention of employers to the qualifications of their teachers, and to the progress of the pupils.—This probably arises from the idea that it does not matter much, what are the qualifications of those who instruct young persons.—This is a great error; and one productive of the most pernicious effects. It would be better for the intellect to sleep during early youth, than to be disciplined by incompetent teachers. It is a fact well tested by the experience of every reflecting mind, that youth at a very early period, contract mental habits, which are rarely ever destroyed and changed by subsequent discipline, but which too generally influence the whole character throughout life. Every person must be conscious of the controlling influence of early habits of thinking and action. How important then that these habits should be formed under the direction of well qualified instructors. History establishes its importance;—it is a well confirmed fact, that most of the great men, who have been distinguished for well balanced and highly improved minds, have been blessed with mothers of high attainments, by whom their characters were moulded.

But again, the subjects taught in many of our schools, are not adapted to the capacities of the pupils, but are too frequently altogether above their comprehension. When the mind cannot clearly perceive the ideas presented to it, its powers cannot be properly exercised, nor can there be any valuable knowledge obtained. The mind in such a case, if I may be allowed the expression, acts *mechanically.* There may be an effort of the memory to retain the words and perhaps the ideas; but if the mind does not fully comprehend them, they had better be forgotten than retained:—for one of the most injurious mental habits that can be formed, is that contracted by habitually exercising the memory to retain that which is not understood.

But when subjects are properly adapted to the capacity of the pupil, and the mind clearly perceives every step in the process of investigation; curiosity is aroused, fixed attention is secured, and a

deep interest is elicited; and as the pupil progresses in the acquisition of knowledge, and feels his powers expanding and strengthening, his desire for more extensive attainments will be constantly increasing. This, sir, is the legitimate effect of knowledge on the mind, when the beauty of new truths is clearly perceived. Hence it may be laid down as a *general rule*, that wherever there is found a mental apathy, or slothfulness, or the least distaste for study evinced by the pupil, it can be traced to the bad management of the instructor. How important then is it, that our instructors should be well qualified for their business!

I believe, however, that Virginia will never be supplied with good instructors, until a portion of her own sons shall be induced to make choice of teaching for their profession, and depend on it for their support and fame. In most countries, teaching is considered one of the learned professions, but unfortunately here, it is not so esteemed; hence our educated youth are unwilling to engage in it, except so far as necessity compels. But it is to be hoped, that ere long, public sentiment will become right on this subject, and that the profession of teaching will be as much sought after, as that of law or medicine. It certainly presents a field of as much usefulness, and in most instances of as much profit, as that of either of the other professions. This subject is worthy of the particular attention of this society, and of every patriot and philanthropist in the state. Every thing that we hold dear as a nation, depends on the virtue and knowledge of our citizens. Our youth are emphatically the hope of our country. All history proves that ignorance and slavery, knowledge and freedom, go together. When ignorance and vice shall stalk over our beloved land, liberty with her attendant blessings will leave our shores.

But, it may be asked, in what way can the efforts of this society be brought to bear on the great and all-important subject of education in our state. In answer to such a question, we would observe, that no one will attempt to remedy defects, before they are known to exist; and the real causes of defects are rarely ever discovered, except by close and patient investigation. Therefore, should this society, or the standing committee select some of our members to investigate definite subjects connected with education, and give the society in the form of an essay the results of their inquiries, and also their own suggestions, much valuable matter would from time to time be brought before us. Suppose one member is invited to prepare a dissertation on the causes of the defects in our common

school system, and the most practicable mode of removing them; another, on the best means that can be used to increase the number of well qualified teachers, and multiply good schools throughout our state, and bring them to bear on all classes of society; a third, on what system is best adapted to secure both the correct discipline of the mind, and the communication of knowledge in the different stages of progress in learning. It is evident that dissertations on such subjects as these will bring before us important information, and put within the reach of our legislators such facts, as are absolutely necessary to enable them to pursue a wise and efficient system of legislation, on one of the most important subjects committed to their care. And if after such dissertations had received the approbation of this society, they should be presented, through the medium of the press, to our citizens at large, they would doubtless command attention, excite a deep interest, and arouse a spirit of improvement, which might result in great and lasting good.

I am afraid, sir, I have detained the society and this indulgent audience quite too long, with my attempts to point out those objects, which in my opinion should claim our particular and immediate attention, or I should be pleased to add a few remarks on some of the more important arts, and the means by which this association could aid their advancement. With your permission, however,—I will invite our ingenious and scientific artists, to favor our annual meetings with an exhibition of the various specimens of their workmanship, and models, or descriptions of any important improvements in machinery which they may have made, or noticed. Such an exhibition will be highly beneficial not only to us, but to the artists themselves, as it will afford our society an opportunity of becoming acquainted with their attainments, and of patronizing their inventive genius and mechanic skill.

I am aware, sir, that in our efforts to establish this society on a permanent basis, we shall meet with indifference and perhaps opposition from all those, who are too deficient in public spirit, or in energy to engage in any enterprise, unless they are perfectly convinced that it must inevitably succeed. Such persons will assure us, that all our attempts will prove abortive; that all voluntary associations which have been heretofore formed in the state, have had but an ephemeral existence, and have soon languished and died; and that most certainly such will be the fate of this new society. But suppose, sir, that this institution should not survive many years; that it is possible that there may not be found sufficient energy in

the whole state to sustain its operations for a great length of time; still, such is the nature of the objects it has in view, that during even a short existence it will have accomplished much that will be valuable, and that would not be obtained by any other means. The valuable historical manuscripts and mineralogical specimens already presented, and now before us, and the great accession to our numbers, of late, are auspicious omens of future success. This society, too, is designed to occupy a more extensive range than that of any other now existing in our country. It embraces the whole field of history, science, and the arts, and solicits the efforts and energy of all enlightened citizens, who are willing to devote a portion of their time and talents to the advancement of such objects as are connected with the best interests of the commonwealth. For one, then, instead of fearing a failure, I shall look forward with pleasing anticipations to the time when our library will contain all the rare and valuable materials, for a full and correct exposition of the physical resources, and the intellectual power and moral worth of those sons of Virginia, who are distinguished ornaments of their country, and benefactors of mankind:—when our cabinet and museum will have embraced all those specimens in geology, mineralogy, zoology and botany, which are necessary to illustrate our natural history and display our physical resources:—when our anniversaries shall excite a lively interest throughout the state, and call into action its genius and erudition:—when our various discussions shall elicit the latent energies of the mind and open new trains of thought:—when, in a word, the combined operations of our members, shall tend powerfully to advance the various sciences, and the useful arts, and to create and diffuse such a taste for intellectual improvement among our citizens, as will assist in giving Virginia, that elevated standing among her sister states which her rich natural resources, no less than her moral worth and her political power so justly entitle her to maintain. And with this view, sir, I shall confidently trust that every real patriot and philanthropist within her boundaries, and every citizen who loves the Old Dominion and her institutions, will rejoice to contribute all in his power to advance the great objects of our society, and so to energize the action, to increase the prosperity, and to brighten the glory of the commonwealth.

MEMOIR OF INDIAN WARS,

AND OTHER OCCURRENCES;

By the late Colonel Stuart, of Greenbrier.

PRESENTED TO THE

Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society,

By Chas. A. Stuart, of Augusta,

SON OF THE NARRATOR.

MEMOIR, &c.

About the year 1749, a person who was a citizen of the county of Frederick, and subject to paroxysms of lunacy, when influenced by such fits, usually made excursions into the wilderness, and in his rambles westwardly, fell in on the waters of Greenbrier river. At that time, the country on the western waters were but little known to the English inhabitants of the then colonies of America, being claimed by the French, who had commenced settlements on the Ohio and its waters, west of the Alleghany mountains. The lunatic being surprised to find waters running a different course from any he had before known, returned with the intelligence of his discovery, which did abound with game. This soon excited the enterprise of others. Two men from New England, of the name of Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, took up a residence upon Greenbrier river; but soon disagreeing in sentiment a quarrel occasioned their separation, and Sewell, for the sake of peace, quit their cabin and made his abode in a large hollow tree. In this situation they were found by the late General Andrew Lewis, in the year 1751. Mr. Lewis was appointed agent for a company of grantees, who obtained from the Governor and Council of Virginia, an order for one hundred thousand acres of land lying on the waters of Greenbrier river,—and did, this year, proceed to make surveys to complete the quantity of said granted lands; and finding Marlin and Sewell living in the neighborhood of each other, inquired what could induce them to live separate in a wilderness so distant from the habitations of any other human beings. They informed him that difference of opinion had occasioned their

separation, and that they had since enjoyed more tranquillity and a better understanding; for Sewell said, that each morning when they arose and Marlin came out of the great house and he from his hollow tree, they saluted each other, saying—good morning Mr. Marlin, and good morning Mr. Sewell, so that a good understanding then existed between them; but it did not last long, for Sewell removed about forty miles further west, to a creek that still bears his name. There the Indians found him and killed him.

Previous to the year 1755, Mr. Lewis had completed for the grantees, under the order of council, upwards of fifty thousand acres;—and the war then commencing between England and France, nothing further was done in the business until the year 1761, when his majesty issued his proclamation commanding all his subjects within the bounds of the colony of Virginia, who were living, or who had made settlements on the western waters, to remove from them, as the lands were claimed by the Indians, and good policy required that a peaceable understanding should be preserved with them, to prevent hostilities on their part. The order of council was never afterwards carried into effect, or his majesty's consent obtained to confirm it.

At the commencement of the revolution, when the state of Virginia began to assume independence, and held a convention in 1776, some efforts were made to have the order of council established under the new order of things then beginning to take place. But it was not confirmed; and commissioners were appointed, in 1777, to grant certificates to each individual who had made settlements on the western waters, in the state of Virginia, previous to the year 1768 and since, with preference according to the time of improvements, which certificates gave the holder a right to four hundred acres for his settlement claim, and the pre-emption of one thousand more, if so much were found clear of prior claims, and the holder chose to accept it. The following year, 1778, Greenbrier was separated from Botetourt county,—and the county took its name from the river, which was so named by old Colonel John Lewis, father to the late General, and

one of the grantees under the order of council, who, in company with his son Andrew, exploring the country in 1751, entangled himself in a bunch of green briers on the river, and declared he would ever after call the river Greenbrier river.

After peace was confirmed between England and France, in the year 1761, the Indians commenced hostilities, in 1763, when all the inhabitants in Greenbrier were totally cut off, by a party of Indians headed by the Cornstalk warrior. The chief settlements were on Muddy creek. These Indians, in number about sixty, introduced themselves into the people's houses under the mask of friendship,—and every civility was offered them by the people, providing them victuals and accommodations for their entertainment, when, on a sudden, they killed the men and made prisoners of the women and children. From thence they passed over into the Levels, where some families were collected at the house of Archibald Clendenin, (where the Hon. Balard Smith now lives.) There were between fifty and one hundred persons, men, women and children. There the Indians were entertained, as at Muddy creek, in the most hospitable manner. Clendenin having just arrived from a hunt, with three fat elks, they were plentifully feasted. In the mean time an old woman, with a sore leg, was showing her distress to an Indian, and inquiring if he could administer to her relief; he said he thought he could—and drawing his tomahawk, instantly killed her and all the men almost, that were in the house. Conrad Yolkom only escaped, by being some distance from the house, when the outcries of the women and children alarmed him. He fled to Jackson's river and alarmed the people, who were unwilling to believe him until the approach of the Indians convinced them. All fled before them; and they pursued on to Carr's creek, in Rockbridge county, where many families were killed and taken by them. At Clendenin's a scene of much cruelty was performed; and a negro woman, who was endeavoring to escape, killed her own child, who was pursuing her crying, lest she might be discovered by its cries. Mrs. Clendenin did not fail

to abuse the Indians with terms of reproach, calling them cowards, &c. although the tomahawk was drawn over her head, with threats of instant death, and the scalp of her husband lashed about her jaws. The prisoners were all taken over to Muddy creek, and a party of Indians retained them there till the return of the others from Carr's creek, when the whole were taken off together. On the day they started from the foot of Keeney's Knob, going over the mountain, Mrs. Clendenin gave her infant child to a prisoner woman to carry, as the prisoners were in the centre of the line with the Indians in front and rear, and she escaped into a thicket and concealed herself until they all passed by. The cries of the child soon made the Indians inquire for the mother, who was missing; and one of them said he would soon bring the cow to her calf. Taking the child by the heels he beat its brains out against a tree, and throwing it down in the path, all marched over it, till its guts were all trampled out with the horses. She told me she returned that night, in the dark, to her own house, a distance of more than ten miles, and covered her husband's corpse with rails, which lay in the yard, where he was killed in endeavoring to escape over the fence, with one of his children in his arms; and then she went into a corn-field, where great fear came upon her, and she imagined she saw a man standing by her, within a few steps.

The Indians continued the war till 1764, and with much depredation on the frontier inhabitants, making incursions as far as within a few miles of Staunton. An end, however, was put to the war in the fall of that year, by the march of an army under the command of Colonel Bouquet, a British officer, who assembled, with his regular troops, at Fort Pitt, some companies of militia from Augusta county and other places,—which, I believe, either volunteered their services or were such as were ordered on the frontiers to protect the inhabitants during the war. Colonel Bouquet held a treaty with the Indians somewhere near Muskingum, and the Indians delivered up many prisoners, who returned to their friends, and a peace was con-

cluded, which continued until the year 1774. I do not remember of hearing it alleged by any one, what occasioned the war of 1763, being then very young; but about that time the British government had passed an act to tax the American colonies; but on the remonstrance of the people and the opposition of some of the British politicians, they repealed the law. I have since thought that they were urged to it by private British agency, as it is well known that they were influenced that way to commence the war in 1774. In the spring of that year, General Lewis represented the county of Botetourt in the Assembly, and his brother, Colonel Charles Lewis, represented the county of Augusta, at Williamsburg, then the capital of our government. During the sitting of the Assembly, in the month of April, or May, government received intelligence of the hostile appearance of the Indians, who had fallen upon the traders in the nation and put them all to death, and were making other arrangements for war.

General Lewis and his brother Charles sent an express immediately to the frontier settlements of their respective counties, requesting them to put themselves in a posture of defence. They had, each of them, the command of the militia in their counties, at that time; and I was ordered by General Lewis, to send out some scouts to watch the warrior path beyond the settlements lately made in Greenbrier, which had recommenced in 1769. We were few in number, and in no condition to oppose an attack from any considerable force. But succor was promised us as soon as they could arrive from the Assembly; and, in the mean time, arrangements were made for carrying on an expedition against the Shawanese, between the Earl of Dunmore, who was the Governor of Virginia, and the Lewises, before they left Williamsburg: the Governor to have the command of a northern division of an army of volunteer militia,—or otherwise drafts to be collected from the counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and the settlements towards Fort Pitt; General Lewis to have the command of a southern division of like troops, collected from the

counties of Augusta, Botetourt, and the adjacent counties below the Blue ridge. Colonel Charles Lewis was to command the Augusta troops, and Colonel William Fleming the Botetourt troops, under General Lewis. The Governor was to take his route by the way of Pittsburg, and General Lewis down the Kenawha—the whole army to assemble at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, on the Ohio river. General Lewis's army assembled in Greenbrier, at Camp Union, (now Lewisburg) about the 4th September, 1774, amounting in all, to about eleven hundred men, and proceeded from thence on their march, on the 11th day of said month. The captains commanding the Augusta volunteers, were Captain George Mathews, Captain Alexander M'Clenachan, Captain John Dickenson, Captain John Lewis, Captain Benjamin Harrison, Captain William Naul, Captain Joseph Haynes, and Captain Samuel Wilson. Those commanding the Botetourt companies, were Captain Matthew Arbuckle, Captain John Murray, Captain John Lewis, Captain James Robertson, Captain Robert M'Clenachan, Captain James Ward, and Captain John Stuart.

In the course of the summer, and not long after we received notice of the hostile appearance of the Indians, they came up the Kenawha, and killed Walter Kelly. Kelly had begun a settlement about twelve miles below the Great Falls. When they made the attack, Colonel John Fields, of Culpeper county, was at Kelly's, about to make some surveys on military claims, or otherwise. He had with him, several of his neighbors and one or two negroes. I had sent an express to them, with advice to remove immediately, as it was apprehended that the Indians were about to break out, and I expected they were in great danger. Kelly was, I believe, a fugitive from the back parts of South Carolina, of a bold and intrepid disposition, received my intelligence with caution, and sent off his family and stock for Greenbrier, with his brother, a young man of equally suspicious character. But Fields, trusting more to his own consequence and better knowledge of public facts, endeavored to

persuade Kelby there was no danger, as nothing of the kind had been before heard of, and our Greenbrier intelligence not worth noticing. On the evening of the same day, and before Kelly's brother and the family had got out of hearing of the guns, the Indians came upon Kelly and Fields where they were taking leather from a tan trough, at a small distance from their cabin, fired on them, and killed Kelly upon the spot. Fields ran into the cabin, where their guns were, all unloaded. He picked up one, and recollecting it was not charged, ran out of the house into a corn-field within a few steps of the door, and left his negro girl and Scotch boy crying at the door. The boy was killed, and the girl carried off. Fields made his escape, but never saw an Indian. Kelly's brother informed me that he heard guns fire shortly after he had started with the family, and expected his brother and Colonel Fields were killed. I prepared to go and see what was the consequence; raised about ten or fifteen men, and proceeded on our way to Kenawha about ten miles, when I met Colonel Fields naked, all but his shirt. His limbs were grievously lacerated with briers and brush, his body worn down with fatigue and cold, having run in that condition from the Kenawha, upwards of eighty miles, through the woods. He was then, I guess, upwards of fifty years old, of a hardy, strong constitution. He was afterwards killed in the battle of the 10th of October following. A fatality pursued the family of Kelly; for the Indians came to Greenbrier, on Muddy creek, and killed young Kelly and took his niece prisoner, about three weeks after they had killed her father.

About this time the disputes between the British government and the colonies began to run high, on account of the duties upon tea imported into this country; and much suspicion was entertained that the Indians were urged by the British agents to begin a war upon us, and to kill the traders then in the nation. However that might be, facts afterwards corroborated the suspicion.

The mouth of the Great Kenawha is distant from Camp Union about one hundred and sixty miles,—the way mountainous and rug-

ged. At the time we commenced our march no track or path was made, and but few white men had ever seen the place. Our principal pilot was Captain Matthew Arbuckle. Our bread stuff was packed upon horses, and droves of cattle furnished our meat; of which we had a plentiful supply, as droves of cattle and pack-horses came in succession after us. But we went on expeditiously, under every disadvantage, and arrived at Point Pleasant about the 1st of October, where we expected the Earl of Dunmore would meet us with his army, who was to have come down the river from Fort Pitt, as was previously determined between the commanders. In this expectation we were greatly disappointed; for his lordship pursued a different route, and had taken his march from Pittsburg, by land, towards the Shawanee towns. General Lewis, finding himself disappointed in meeting the Governor and his army at Point Pleasant, despatched two scouts up the river, by land, to Fort Pitt, to endeavor to learn the cause of the disappointment; and our army remained encamped, to wait their return.

Before we marched from Camp Union, we were joined by Colonel John Fields, with a company of men from Culpeper, and Captain Thomas Buford, from Bedford county; also three other companies, under the command of Captain Evan Shelby, Captain William Russell, and Captain Harbert, from Holston, now Washington county. These troops were to compose a division commanded by Colonel William Christian, who was then convening more men in that quarter of the country, with a view of pursuing us to the mouth of the Great Kenawha, where the whole army were expected to meet, and proceed from thence to the Shawanee towns. The last mentioned companies completed our army to eleven hundred men.

During the time our scouts were going express up the river to Fort Pitt, the Governor had despatched three men, lately traders amongst the Indians, down the river, express to General Lewis, to inform him of his new plan and the route he was about to take, with instructions to pursue our march to the Shawanee towns, where he

expected to assemble with us. But what calculations he might have made for delay or other disappointments which would be likely to happen to two armies under so long and difficult a march through a trackless wilderness, I never could guess; or how he could suppose they would assemble at a conjuncture so critical as the business then in question required, was never known to any body.

The Governor's express arrived at our encampment on Sunday, the 9th day of October,—and on that day it was my lot to command the guard. One of the men's name was M'Cullough, with whom I had made some acquaintance in Philadelphia, in the year 1766, at the Indian Queen, where we both happened to lodge. This man, supposing I was in Lewis's army, inquired and was told that I was on guard. He made it his business to visit me, to renew our acquaintance; and in the course of our conversation, he informed me he had recently left the Shawanee towns and gone to the Governor's camp. This made me desirous to know his opinion of our expected success in subduing the Indians, and whether he thought they would be presumptuous enough to offer to fight us, as we supposed we had a force superior to any thing they could oppose to us. He answered, "Aye, they will give you grinders, and that before long:" and repeating it with an oath, swore we would get grinders very soon. I believe that he and his companions left our camp that evening, to return to the Governor's camp. The next morning two young men had set out very early to hunt for deer; they happened to ramble up the (Ohio) river two or three miles, and on a sudden fell on the camp of the Indians, who had crossed the river the evening before, and were just about fixing for battle. They discovered the young men and fired upon them; one was killed, the other escaped, and got into our camp just before sunrise. He stopped just before my tent, and I discovered a number of men collecting round him as I lay in my bed. I jumped up and approached him to know what was the alarm, when I heard him declare that he had seen above five acres of

land covered with Indians, as thick as they could stand one beside another.

General Lewis immediately ordered a detachment of Augusta troops, under his brother Colonel Charles Lewis, and another detachment of the Botetourt troops, under Colonel William Fleming. These were composed of the companies commanded by the oldest captains; and the junior captains were ordered to stay in camp, to aid the others as occasion would require. The detachments marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same order of march, about four hundred yards from our camp, and in sight of the guard. The Indians made the first fire and killed both the scouts in front of the two lines. Just as the sun was rising, a very heavy fire soon commenced, and Colonel Lewis was mortally wounded, but walked into camp and died a few minutes afterwards; observing to Colonel Charles Simms, with his last words, that he had sent one of the enemy to eternity before him. During his life it was his lot to have frequent skirmishes with the Indians, in which he was always successful; had gained much applause for his intrepidity, and was greatly beloved by his troops. Colonel Fleming was also wounded; and our men had given way some distance before they were reinforced by the other companies issuing in succession from the camp. The Indians in turn had to retreat, until they formed a line behind logs and trees, across from the bank of the Ohio to the bank of the Kenawha, and kept up their fire till sundown.

The Indians were exceedingly active in concealing their dead that were killed. I saw a young man draw out three, who were covered with leaves beside a large log, in the midst of the battle.

Colonel Christian came with troops to our camp that night, about eleven o'clock, General Lewis having despatched a messenger up the Kenawha to give him notice that we were engaged, and to hasten his march to our assistance. He brought about three hundred men with him, and marched out early next morning over the battle ground, and found twenty-one of the enemy slain on the ground.—

Twelve more were afterwards found, all concealed in one place; and the Indians confessed that they had thrown a number into the river in time of the battle; so that it is possible that the slain on both sides, were about equal. We had seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. The Indians were headed by their chief, the Corn-stalk warrior; who, in his plan of attack and retreat, discovered great military skill. Amongst the slain on our side, were Colonel Charles Lewis, Colonel John Fields, Captain Buford, Captain Murray, Captain Ward, Captain Wilson, Captain Robert M'Clenachan, Lieutenant Allen, Lieutenant Goldsby, Lieutenant Dillon, and other subaltern officers. Colonel Fields had raised his company, I believe, under no particular instructions; and seemed, from the time he joined our army at Camp Union, to assume an independence, not subject to the control of others. His claim to such privileges might have arisen from some former military service in which he had been engaged, entitling him to a rank that ought to relieve him from being subject to control by volunteer commanders; and when we marched from Camp Union he took a separate route. On the third day after our departure, two of his men, of the name of Coward and Clay, who left the company to look after deer for provisions, as they marched fell in with two Indians, on the waters of the Little Meadows. As Clay passed round the root of a large log, under which one of the Indians was concealed, he killed Clay—and running up to scalp him, Coward killed him, being at some distance behind Clay. They both fell together, on the same spot. The other Indian fled, and passed our scouts unarmed. A bundle of ropes was found where they killed Clay, which proved that their intention was to steal horses. Colonel Fields joined us again that evening, and separated no more till we arrived at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenawha.

After the battle, we had different accounts of the number of Indians who attacked us. Some asserted that they were upwards of one thousand; some said no more than four or five hundred. The

correct number was never known to us; however, it was certain they were combined of different nations—Shawanese, Wyandotts, and Delawares.—Of the former there is no doubt the whole strength of the nation was engaged in the battle. And on the evening of the day before the battle, when they were about to cross over the river, the Corn-stalk proposed to the Indians that if they were agreed, he would come and talk with us, and endeavor to make peace; but they would not listen to him. On the next day, as we were informed, he killed one of the Indians for retreating in the battle, in a cowardly manner. I could hear him the whole day speaking very loud to his men; and one of my company, who had once been a prisoner, told me what he was saying; encouraging the Indians,—telling them—"be strong, be strong!"

None will suppose that we had a contemptible enemy to do with, who has any knowledge of the exploits performed by them. It was chiefly the Shawanese that cut off the British army under General Braddock, in the year 1755, only nineteen years before our battle, where the General himself, and Sir Peter Hackett, second in command, were both slain, and a mere remnant of the whole army only escaped. It was they, too, who defeated Major Grant and his Scotch Highlanders, at Fort Pitt, in 1758, where the whole of the troops were killed and taken prisoners. After our battle, they defeated all the flower of the first bold and intrepid settlers of Kentucky, at the battle of the Blue Licks. There fell Colonel John Todd and Colonel Stephen Trigg. The whole of their men were almost cut to pieces. Afterwards they defeated the United States army, over the Ohio, commanded by General Harmar. And lastly, they defeated General Arthur St. Clair's great army, with prodigious slaughter. I believe it was never known that so many Indians were ever killed in any engagement with the white people, as fell by the army of General Lewis, at Point Pleasant. They are now dwindled to insignificance, and no longer noticed; and futurity will not easily perceive the prowess they possessed.

Of all the Indians, the Shawanese were the most bloody and terrible,—holding all other men, as well Indians as whites, in contempt as warriors, in comparison with themselves. This opinion made them more wrestless and fierce than any other savages; and they boasted that they had killed ten times as many white people as any other Indians did. They were a well-formed, active, and ingenious people—were assuming and imperious in the presence of others not of their own nation, and sometimes very cruel.

General Lewis's army consisted chiefly of young volunteers, well trained to the use of arms, as hunting, in those days, was much practised, and preferred to agricultural pursuits by enterprising young men. The produce of the soil was of little value on the west side of the Blue Ridge—the ways bad, and the distance to market too great to make it esteemed. Such pursuits inured them to hardships and danger. We had more than every fifth man in our army killed or wounded in the battle,—but none were disheartened; all crossed the river with cheerfulness, bent on destroying the enemy; and had they not been restrained by the Governor's orders, I believe they would have exterminated the Shawanese nation.

This battle was, in fact, the beginning of the revolutionary war that obtained for our country the liberty and independence enjoyed by the United States, (and a good presage of future success;) for it is well known that the Indians were influenced by the British to commence the war to terrify and confound the people, before they commenced hostilities themselves the following year at Lexington, in Massachusetts. It was thought by British politicians, that to excite an Indian war would prevent a combination of the colonies for opposing Parliamentary measures to tax the Americans. The blood, therefore, spilt upon this memorable battle, will long be remembered by the good people of Virginia and the United States with gratitude.

The Indians passed over the Ohio river in the night time, after the battle, and made the best of their way back to the Shawanee towns, upon the Scioto. And, after burying our dead, General Lewis or-

dered entrenchments to be made around our camp, extending across from the Ohio to the Kenawha, to secure the officer, with an adequate number of men, to protect them in safety, and marched the army across the Ohio for the Shawanee-towns.

In this command he had many difficulties to encounter, that none can well judge of who have never experienced similar troubles, to preserve order and necessary discipline, over an army of volunteers who had no knowledge of the use of discipline or military order, when in an enemy's country, well skilled in their own manner of warfare. And let it be remembered that the youth of our country, previous to those times, had grown up in times of peace, and were quite unacquainted with military operations of any kind. Ignorance of these duties, together with high notions of independence and equality of condition, rendered the service extremely difficult and disagreeable to the commander,—who was, by nature, of a lofty and high military spirit, and who had seen much military service under General Braddock and other commanders. He was appointed First Captain under General Washington, together with Captain Peter Hogg, in the year 1752, when General Washington was appointed Major by Governor Gooch, to go to the frontiers and erect a garrison at the Little Meadows, on the waters of the Monongahela, to prevent the encroachments of the French, who were extending their claims from Port Pitt (then Fort De Quesne) up the Monongahela river and its waters. During the time they were employed about that business, they sustained an attack, made on them by a party of French and Indians, sent out from Fort De Quesne for that purpose, on account of an unfortunate affair that took place soon after they had arrived at the Little Meadows. A French gentleman of the name of Jumenvail, with a party, was making some surveys not far from Major Washington's encampment, who ordered Captain Hogg to go and examine him as to his authority for making such encroachments on the British claims and settlements. Captain Hogg discovered Jumenvail's encampment, which he approached in the

night time; and, contrary to his orders, or the instructions of Major Washington, he fired on Jumenvail and killed him. The French, in order to retaliate, sent out a party to attack Washington. They were discovered when within one mile of the encampment, and soon appeared before it, commencing firing as they approached. Our people had made some entrenchments, from which they returned the fire. In this engagement General Lewis received two wounds. The French at length cried out for a parly; the firing ceased on both sides; the parties intermixed indiscriminately, and articles of capitulation were drawn up by the French, which Major Washington signed and acknowledged. He was then a very young man, and unacquainted with the French language; and, it seems, that in that instrument he acknowledged the assassination of Jumenvail. This was sent to Europe, and published. Hostilities soon after commenced between the two rival nations, England and France, the chief foundation of the quarrel being this transaction in America. I have seen Bliss's account of the beginning of the war of 1755, in his history of England. It differs somewhat from this; but I have narrated the facts as I heard them from General Lewis, and have no doubt of their being correct.

The French had brought in their party a large number of Indians, which gave them a great superiority of numbers. An accident took place during the intermixture of the parties, which might have proved fatal to Washington and his party, had not General Lewis, with great presence of mind, prevented it. An Irish soldier in the crowd seeing an Indian near him, swore, in the well known language of his country, that he would "send the yellow son-of-a-bitch to hell." General Lewis was limping near him with his wounded leg, struck the muzzle of his gun into the air and saved the Indian's life, and the lives of all the party, had the Irishman's intention taken effect.

When the war of 1755 began, General Washington was appointed the commander of the first regiment ever raised in Virginia, and General Lewis, Major. Lewis was afterwards on a command with

the British Major Grant, under General Forbis, to reconnoitre the vicinity of the French fort, (now Fort Pitt) against which General Forbis's army was then on their march, to endeavor to demolish.—When Grant and Lewis drew near the garrison undiscovered, Major Grant began to apprehend that he could surprise the garrison, and disappoint his General of the honor of the conquest. Against this unjustifiable attempt, General Lewis in vain remonstrated. He represented that the garrison was reinforced by a number of Indians, then at the place in great force, and the difficulty of reaching the garrison privately and undiscovered. Grant, however, was unwilling to share so great an honor with any other, and ordered Major Lewis to remain with their baggage, with the provincial troops which he commanded,—whilst he, with his Scotch Highlanders, advanced to the attack; which he began early in the morning, by beating drums upon Grant's hill, as it is still called. The Indians were lying on the opposite side of the river from the garrison, when the alarm began, in number about one thousand five hundred. The sound of war, so sudden and so near them, soon roused them to arms; and Grant and his Highlanders were soon surrounded, when the work of death went on rapidly, and in a manner quite novel to Scotch Highlanders, who, in all their European wars, had never before seen men's heads skinned. General Lewis soon perceived, by the retreating fire, that Major Grant was overmatched and in a bad situation. He advanced with his two hundred provincials, and falling on the rear of the Indians, made way for Major Grant and some of his men to escape; but Lewis's party was also defeated, and himself taken prisoner. The Indians desired to put him to death, but the French, with difficulty, saved him; however, the Indians stripped him of all his clothes, save his shirt, before he was taken into the fort. An elderly Indian seized the shirt, and insisted upon having it; but he resisted, with the tomahawk drawn over his head, until a French officer, by signs, requested him to deliver the shirt, and then took him into his room and gave him a complete dress to put

on. When he was advancing to the relief of Grant, he met a Scotch Highlander under speedy flight; and inquiring of him how the battle was going, he said they were "a beaten, and he had seen Donald M'Donald up to his hunkers in mud, and a the skeen af his heed." Grant had made his escape from the field of battle with a party of seven or eight soldiers, and wandered all night in the woods. In the morning they returned to the garrison and surrendered themselves to the Indians, who carried them into the fort. Major Grant's life was preserved by the French; but the Indians brought the soldiers to the room door where Major Lewis was, whose his benefactor refused to let them come in, and they killed all the men at the door.

The French, expecting that the main army, under General Forbis, would soon come on, and believing that they would not be able to defend the attack, blew up the fort and retreated to Quebec, with the prisoners, where they were confined till a cartel took place, and they were exchanged.

This is the same Colonel Grant who figured in the British Parliament in the year 1775, when Mr. Thurlow, the Attorney General, affirmed that the Americans were rebels and traitors,—but did not prove his position by comparison of their conduct with the treason laws; and Colonel Grant in particular, told the house that he had often acted in the same service with the Americans; he knew them well; and from that knowledge, would venture to predict—"that they would never dare to face an English army, as being destitute of every requisite to constitute good soldiers. By their laziness, uncleanliness, or radical defects of constitution, they were incapable of going through the service of a campaign, and would melt away with sickness before they would face an enemy, so that a very slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete reduction."* But during the time of their captivity, this philosophical hero was detected in an act of the most base hypocrisy, in Quebec. As the

* See History of England for 1775, vol. xii. p. 527.

letters of the English officers were not suffered to be sealed until they were inspected before they were sent off, a French officer discovered in Major Grant's communication to General Forbis, that he had ascribed the whole disgrace of his defeat to the misconduct of Major Lewis and his provincial troops. The officer immediately carried the letter to Major Lewis, and showed it to him. Lewis, indignant at such a scandalous and unjust representation, accused Grant of his duplicity, in the presence of the French officers, and challenged him; but Grant prudently declined the combat, after receiving the grossest insults, by spitting in his face, and degrading language.

After the French had blown up the fort and departed for Quebec with the prisoners, in going up the Alleghany river it was very cold, and Grant lay shivering in the boat, cursing the Americans and their country,—threatening that if he ever returned to England he would let his majesty know their insignificance, and the impropriety of the trouble and expense to the nation in endeavoring to protect such a vile country and people. For this provoking language, General Lewis did chide him severely.

General Lewis was, in person, upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form of the most exact symmetry that I ever beheld in human being. He had a stern and invincible countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment, which rendered his presence more awful than engaging. He was a commissioner, with Dr. Thomas Walker, to hold a treaty, on behalf of the colony of Virginia, with the six nations of Indians, together with the commissioners from Pennsylvania, New York, and other eastern provinces, held at Fort Stanevix, in the province of New York, in the year 1768. It was there remarked by the Governor of New York, that "the earth seemed to tremble under him as he walked along." His independent spirit despised sycophantic means of gaining popularity, which never rendered more than his merits extorted.

Such a character was not calculated to gain much applause by

commanding an army of volunteers without discipline, experience, or gratitude. Many took umbrage because they were compelled to do their duty; others thought the duties of a common soldier were beneath the dignity of a volunteer. Every one found some cause of imaginary complaint.

When congress determined to be independent, and appointed general officers to command our armies to prosecute the war for independence and defending our liberty, they nominated General Washington to the chief command,—who, from his great modesty, recommended General Lewis in preference to himself; but one of his colleagues from Virginia, observed that General Lewis's popularity had suffered much from the declamation of some of his troops, on the late expedition against the Indians, and that it would be impolitic at that conjuncture, to make the appointment. He was, however, afterwards appointed among the first brigadier generals, and took the command, at Norfolk, of the Virginia troops. When Lord Dunmore made his escape from Williamsburg, on board a British ship of war lying off Norfolk, the vessel drew up and commenced a fire on the town; but General Lewis, from a battery, compelled his lordship to depart,—and, I believe, he never afterwards set foot on American ground. This ended the military career of General Lewis. Congress having appointed General Stevens and some other major generals, gave him some offence. He had been their superior in former services. Having accepted his office of brigadier at the solicitation of General Washington, he wrote to the General of his intention to resign. General Washington, in reply, pressed him to hold his command, and assured him that justice would be done him as respected his rank. But he was grown old, his ardor for military fame abated; and being seized with a fever resigned his command to return home, in the year 1780. He died on his way, in Bedford county, about forty miles from his own house, on Roanoke, in Botetourt county, lamented by all who were intimately acquainted with his meritorious services and superior qualities.

It is said that there is a book now extant, in this country, with the title of "Smith's Travels in America," which was written in England, wherein the author asserts that he was on the expedition in the year 1774, and that he joined the Augusta troops in Staunton. He gives a particular description of Mr. Sampson Matthew's tavern and family, who kept the most noted public house in town, and of the march of our army from Camp Union to Point Pleasant. He also gives an account of the battle, and of Colonel Lewis being killed in the engagement. If such a person was along, I am persuaded he was *in cog*, and a creature of Lord Dunmore; for I was particularly acquainted with all the officers of the Augusta troops, and the chief of all the men, but knew no such man as Smith. I am the more confirmed in this opinion from what General Lewis told me in the year 1779, that he was well informed that on the evening of the 10th October, the day of our battle, Dunmore and the noted Doctor Connelly, of tory memory, with some other officers, were taking a walk, when Dunmore observed to the gentlemen that he expected by that time Colonel Lewis had hot work. This corresponds with my suspicions of the language of M'Cullough, who promised us "grinders." Had not M'Cullough seen the Indians, coming down the river and on his return, the evening before the battle, they could not have known the strength of our army, or amount of our troops so correctly as they certainly did; for, during the battle, I heard one of the enemy halloo, with abusive terms in English, that they had eleven hundred Indians, and two thousand coming. The same boast was vociferated from the opposite side of the river, in the hearing of most of our officers and men who occupied the Ohio bank, during the battle. As the number mentioned, of eleven hundred, was precisely our number, and the expectation entertained by some, that Colonel Christian would come on with two thousand more, the intelligence must have been communicated to the Indians by the Governor's scouts, for there could have been no other means of conveying such exact information to them. Colonel Christian had but three hundred

altogether, including the companies of Shelby, Russell, and Harbert, when he arrived at our camp.

Having finished the entrenchments, and put every thing in order for securing the wounded from danger after the battle, we crossed the Ohio river in our march to the Shawanee towns. Captain Arbuckle was our guide, who was equally esteemed as a soldier and a fine woodsman. When we came to the prairie, on Killicanic creek, we saw the smoke of a small Indian town, which was deserted and set on fire upon our approach. Here we met an express from the Governor's camp, who had arrived near the nation and proposed peace to the Indians. Some of the chiefs, with the Grenadier Squaw, on the return of the Indians after their defeat, had repaired to the Governor's army to solicit terms of peace for the Indians, which I apprehend they had no doubt of obtaining. The Governor promised them the war should be no further prosecuted, and that he would stop the march of Lewis's army before any more hostilities should be committed upon them. However, the Indians finding we were rapidly approaching, began to suspect that the Governor did not possess the power of stopping us, whom they designated by the name of the Big Knife Men; the Governor, therefore, with the White Fish warrior, set off and met us at Killicanic creek, and there Colonel Lewis received his orders to return with his army, as he had proposed terms of peace with the Indians, which he assured should be accomplished.

His lordship requested Colonel Lewis to introduce him to his officers; and we were accordingly ranged in rank, and had the honor of an introduction to the Governor and commander in chief, who politely thanked us for services rendered on so momentous an occasion, and assured us of his high esteem and respect for our conduct.

On the Governor's consulting Colonel Lewis, it was deemed necessary that a garrison should be established at Point Pleasant, to intercept and prevent the Indians from crossing the Ohio to our side, as also to prevent any whites from crossing over to the side of the

Indians; and by such means to preserve a future peace, according to the conditions of the treaty then to be made by the Governor with the Indians. Captain Arbuckle was appointed commander of the garrison, with instructions to enlist one hundred men, for the term of one year from the date of their enlistment, and proceed to erect a fort, which was executed in the following summer.

The next spring, the revolutionary war commenced between the British army, under General Gage, at Boston, and the citizens of the state of Massachusetts, at Lexington. Virginia soon after assumed an independent form of government, and began to levy troops for the common defence, when another company was ordered to the aid of Captain Arbuckle, to be commanded by Captain William M'Kee. But the troubles of the war accumulated so fast, that it was it was found too inconvenient and expensive to keep a garrison, at so great an expense and so great a distance from any inhabitants. There was, also, a demand for all the troops that could be raised, to oppose British force, and Captain Arbuckle was ordered to vacate the station and to join General Washington's army. This he was not willing to do, having engaged, as he alleged, for a different service. A number of his men, however, marched and joined the main army until the time of their enlistment expired.

In the year 1777, the Indians, being urged by British agents, became very troublesome to frontier settlements, manifesting much appearance of hostilities, when the Corn-stalk warrior, with the Red-hawk, paid a visit to the garrison at Point Pleasant. He made no secret of the disposition of the Indians; declaring that, on his own part, he was opposed to joining in the war on the side of the British, but that all the nation, except himself and his own tribe, were determined to engage in it; and that, of course, he and his tribe would have to run with the stream, (as he expressed it.) On this Captain Arbuckle thought proper to detain him, the Red-hawk, and another fellow, as hostages, to prevent the nation from joining the British.

In the course of that summer our government had ordered an army

to be raised, of volunteers, to serve under the command of General Hand; who was to have collected a number of troops at Fort Pitt, with them to descend the river to Point Pleasant, there to meet a reinforcement of volunteers expected to be raised in Augusta and Botetourt counties, and then proceed to the Shawanee towns and chastize them so as to compel them to a neutrality. Hand did not succeed in the collection of troops at Fort Pitt; and but three or four companies were raised in Augusta and Botetourt, which were under the command of Colonel George Skillern, who ordered me to use my endeavors to raise all the volunteers I could get in Greenbrier, for that service. The people had begun to see the difficulties attendant on a state of war and long campaigns carried through wildernesses, and but a few were willing to engage in such service. But as the settlements which we covered, though less exposed to the depredations of the Indians, had showed their willingness to aid in the proposed plan to chastize the Indians, and had raised three companies, I was very desirous of doing all I could to promote the business and aid the service. I used the utmost endeavors, and proposed to the militia officers to volunteer ourselves, which would be an encouragement to others, and by such means to raise all the men who could be got. The chief of the officers in Greenbrier agreed to the proposal, and we cast lots who should command the company. The lot fell on Andrew Hamilton for captain, and William Renick lieutenant. We collected in all, about forty, and joined Colonel Skillern's party, on their way to Point Pleasant.

When we arrived, there was no account of General Hand or his army, and little or no provision made to support our troops, other than what we had taken with us down the Kenawha. We found, too, that the garrison was unable to spare us any supplies, having nearly exhausted, when we got there, what had been provided for themselves. But we concluded to wait there as long as we could for the arrival of General Hand, or some account from him. During the time of our stay two young men, of the names of Hamilton and

Gilmore, went over the Kenawha one day to hunt for deer; on their return to camp, some Indians had concealed themselves on the bank amongst the weeds, to view our encampment; and as Gilmore came along past them, they fired on him and killed him on the bank.

Captain Arbuckle and myself were standing on the opposite bank when the gun fired; and whilst we were wondering who it could be shooting, contrary to orders, or what they were doing over the river, we saw Hamilton run down the bank, who called out that Gilmore was killed. Gilmore was one of the company of Captain John Hall, of that part of the country now Rockbridge county. The captain was a relation of Gilmore's, whose family and friends were chiefly cut off by the Indians, in the year 1763, when Greenbrier was cut off. Hall's men instantly jumped into a canoe and went to the relief of Hamilton, who was standing in momentary expectation of being put to death. They brought the corpse of Gilmore down the bank, covered with blood and scalped, and put him into the canoe. As they were passing the river, I observed to Captain Arbuckle that the people would be for killing the hostages, as soon as the canoe would land. He supposed that they would not offer to commit so great a violence upon the innocent, who were in nowise accessary to the murder of Gilmore. But the canoe had scarcely touched the shore until the cry was raised, let us kill the Indians in the fort;—and every man, with his gun in his hand, came up the bank pale with rage. Captain Hall was at their head, and leader. Captain Arbuckle and I met them, and endeavored to dissuade them from so unjustifiable an action; but they cocked their guns, threatened us with instant death if we did not desist, rushed by us into the fort, and put the Indians to death.

On the preceding day, the Corn-stalk's son, Elnipsico, had come from the nation to see his father, and to know if he was well, or alive. When he came to the river opposite the fort, he hallooed. His father was, at that instant, in the act of delineating a map of the country and the waters between the Shawanee towns and the

Mississippi, at our request, with chalk upon the floor. He immediately recognized the voice of his son, got up, went out, and answered him. The young fellow crossed over, and they embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate manner. The interpreter's wife, who had been a prisoner among the Indians, and had recently left them on hearing the uproar the next day; and hearing the men threatening that they would kill the Indians, for whom she retained much affection, ran to their cabin and informed them that the people were just coming to kill them; and that, because the Indians who killed Gilmore, had come with Elinipsico the day before. He utterly denied it; declared that he knew nothing of them, and trembled exceedingly. His father encouraged him not to be afraid, for that the Great Man above had sent him there to be killed and die with him. As the men advanced to the door, the Corn-stalk rose up and met them; they fired upon him, and seven or eight bullets went through him. So fell the great Corn-stalk warrior,—whose name was bestowed upon him by the consent of the nation, as their great strength and support. His son was shot dead, as he sat upon a stool. The Red-hawk made an attempt to go up the chimney, but was shot down. The other Indian was shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him so long in the agonies of death.

The Corn-stalk, from personal appearance and many brave acts, was undoubtedly a hero. Had he been spared to live, I believe he would have been friendly to the American cause; for nothing could induce him to make the visit to the garrison at the critical time he did, but to communicate to them the temper and disposition of the Indians, and their design of taking part with the British. On the day he was killed we held a council, at which he was present. His countenance was dejected; and he made a speech, all of which seemed to indicate an honest and manly disposition. He acknowledged that he expected that he and his party would have to run with the stream, for that all the Indians on the lakes and northwardly, were joining the British. He said that when he returned to the Shawanee towns

after the battle at the Point, he called a council of the nation to consult what was to be done, and upbraided them for their folly in not suffering him to make peace on the evening before the battle.—"What," said he, "will you do now? The Big Knife is coming on us, and we shall all be killed. Now you must fight, or we are undone." But no one made an answer. He said, then let us kill all our women and children, and go and fight till we die. But none would answer. At length he rose and struck his tomahawk in the post in the centre of the town house: "I'll go," said he, "and make peace;" and then the warriors all grunted out "ough, ough, ough," and runners were instantly despatched to the Governor's army to solicit a peace and the interposition of the Governor on their behalf.

When he made his speech in council with us, he seemed to be impressed with an awful premonition of his approaching fate; for he repeatedly said, "When I was a young man and went to war, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more. Now I am here amongst you; you may kill me if you please; I can die but once; and it is all one to me, now or another time." This declaration concluded every sentence of his speech. He was killed about one hour after our council.

A few days after this catastrophe General Hand arrived, but had no troops. We were discharged, and returned home a short time before Christmas. Not long after we left the garrison a small party of Indians appeared near the fort, and Lieutenant Moore was ordered, with a party, to pursue them. Their design was to retaliate the murder of Corn-stalk. Moore had not pursued one-quarter of a mile until he fell into an ambuscade and was killed, with several of his men.

The next year, 1778, in the month of May, a small party of Indians again appeared near the garrison, and showed themselves and decamped apparently in great terror. But the garrison was aware of their seduction, and no one was ordered to pursue them. Finding that their scheme was not likely to succeed, their whole army rose

up at once and showed themselves, extending across from the bank of the Ohio to the bank of the Kenawha, and commenced firing upon the garrison, but without effect, for several hours. At length one of them had the presumption to advance so near the fort as to request the favor of being permitted to come in, to which Captain M'Kee granted his assent, and the stranger very composedly walked in. Captain Arbuckle was then absent, on a visit in Greenbrier, to his family. During the time the strange gentleman was in the fort, a gun went off in the fort, by accident. The Indians without, raised a hideous yell, supposing the fellow was killed; but he instantly jumped up into one of the bastions and showed himself, giving the sign that all was well, and reconciled his friends. Finding that they could make no impression upon the garrison, they concluded to come on to Greenbrier; and collecting all the cattle about the garrison, for provision on their march, set off up the Kenawha, in great military parade, to finish their campaign and take vengeance on us for the death of Corn-stalk. Captain M'Kee perceiving their design, by the route they were pursuing, despatched Philip Hammond and John Prior after them, with orders, if possible to pass them undiscovered, and to give the inhabitants notice of their approach. This hazardous service they performed with great fidelity. The Indians had two days start of them, but they pursued with such speed and diligence, that they overtook and passed the Indians at the house of William M'Clung, at the Meadows, about twenty miles from Lewisburg. It was in the evening of the day, and M'Clung's family had previously removed farther in amongst the inhabitants for safety, as they were the frontier family on the way to Point Pleasant. At this place Hammond and Prior had a full view of the Indians, as they walked upon a rising ground between the house and the barn, and appeared to be viewing the great meadows lying in sight of the house. Hammond and Prior were in the meadows, concealed by the weeds, and had a full view of their whole party undiscovered, and calculated their numbers at about two hundred warriors. Having

passed the Indians, they came on in great speed, to Colonel Donnally's, and gave the alarm of the approach of the Indians. Colonel Donnally lost no time to collect in all his nearest neighbors that night, and sent a servant to my house to inform me. Before day about twenty men, including Hammond and Prior, were collected at Donnally's, and they had the advantage of a stockade fort around and adjoining the house. There was a number of women and children, making in all about sixty persons in the house. On the next day they kept a good look-out, in momentary expectation of the enemy.

Colonel Samuel Lewis was at my house when Donnally's servant came with the intelligence; and we lost no time in alarming the people, and to collect as many men for defence, as we could get at Camp Union all the next day. But all were busy; some flying with their families to the inward settlements, and others securing their property,—so that in the course of the day, we had not collected near one hundred men. On the following day we sent out two scouts to Donnally's, very early in the morning, who soon returned with intelligence that the fort was attacked. The scouts had got within one mile, and heard the guns firing briskly. We determined to give all the aid we could to the besieged, and every man who was willing to go was paraded. They amounted to sixty-eight in all, including Colonel Lewis, Captain Arbuckle, and myself. We drew near Donnally's house about two o'clock P. M. but heard no firing. For the sake of expedition we had left the road for a nearer way, which led to the back side of the house, and thus escaped falling into an ambuscade, placed on the road some distance from the house, which might hnve been fatal to us, being greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers. We soon discovered Indians, behind trees in a rye-field, looking earnestly at the house. Charles Gatliff and I fired upon them, when we saw others running in the rye, near where they stood. We all ran directly to the fort. The people, on hearing the guns on the back side of the house, supposed that it was another party of Indians, and all were at the port holes ready to fire upon us;

but some discovering that we were their friends, opened the gate, and we all got in safe. One man only, was shot through his clothes.

When we got into the fort, we found that there were only four men killed. Two of them who were coming to the fort, fell into the midst of the Indians, and were killed. A servant of Donnally's was killed early in the morning on the first attack; and one man was killed in a bastion in the fort. The Indians had commenced their attack about daylight in the morning, when the people were all in bed, except Philip Hammond and an old negro. The house formed one part of the fort, and was double, the kitchen making one end of the house, and there Hammond and the negro were. A hogshead of water was placed against the door. The enemy had laid down their guns at a stable, about fifty yards from the house, and made their attacks with tomahawks and war clubs. Hammond and the negro held the door till they were splitting it with their tomahawks: they suddenly let the door open, and Hammond killed the Indian on the threshold, who was splitting the door. The negro had a musket charged with swan shot, and was jumping about in the floor asking Hammond where he should shoot? Hammond bade him fire away amongst them; for the yard was crowded as thick as they could stand. Dick fired away, and I believe, with good effect; for a war club lay in the yard with a swan shot in it. Dick is now upwards of eighty years old, has long been abandoned by his master, as also his wife, as aged as himself, and they have made out to support their miserable existence, many years past, by their own endeavors. This is the negro to whom our assembly, at its last session, refused to grant a small pension to support the short remainder of his wretched days, which must soon end, although his humble petition was supported by certificates of the most respectable men in the county, of his meritorious service on this occasion, which saved the lives of many citizens then in the house.

The firing of Hammond and Dick awakened the people in the other end of the house, and up stairs, where the chief of the men

were lying. They soon fired out of the windows on the Indians so briskly, that when we got to the fort, seventeen of them lay dead in the yard, one of whom was a boy about fifteen or sixteen years old—his body was so torn by the bullets that a man might have run his arm through him, yet he lived almost all day, and made a most lamentable cry. The Indians called to him to go into the house.

After dark, a fellow drew near to the fort and called out in english that he wanted to make peace. We invited him in to consult on the terms, but he declined our civility. They departed that night, after dragging eight of their slain out of the yard; but we never afterwards found where they buried them. They visited Greenbrier but twice afterwards, and then in very small parties, one of which killed a man and his wife, of the name of Munday, and wounded Capt. Samuel McClung. The last person killed was Thomas Griffith,—his son was taken, but going down the Kenawha, they were pursued, one of the Indians was killed, and the boy was relieved, which ended our wars in Greenbrier with the Indians, in the year 1780.

[Signed,] JOHN STUART.

The above is a correct copy from the original, in my possession, with slight variations of orthography and punctuation. I do not know at what date it was written.

CH: A. STUART.

January 14*th*, 1833.

[☞Although the following letter from CHARLES A. STUART, Esq. respecting the preceding narrative—was not designed for publication, the standing committee, have considered it expedient to insert it,—and for so doing trust to the writer's indulgence.]

JANUARY 15th, 1833.

Dear Sir,

I, yesterday, sent to your brother to be forwarded, the copy of my father's narrative, which I, some time ago, promised to supply, at your request for Gen. Brodnax. There may be, and I think probably are, some historical inaccuracies in it, in respect to transactions, at a distance from the scene of his own experience and observation. I say "probably are," because there are some slight discrepancies between his statements and those of Gen. Marshall's history, touching the same incidents. The latter is doubtless, founded upon Gen. Washington's relation of the facts, who, from his situation, may readily be supposed to be more accurately informed than Gen. Lewis was. But, be this as it may, my father's narrative of such details is, unquestionably, as he received them from Gen. Lewis; and as little question can there be, that the latter related them precisely as he apprehended them.

As to the facts stated as within the observation of the narrator himself, his station, his character, and the traditions still current throughout the region of their occurrence, abundantly sustain them. Indeed, the modesty with which the narrative proceeds, pretermitting numerous amusing anecdotes which he used to relate to his acquaintances and with which I have often known him and his old associates to recreate themselves, is strong internal evidence, at least to me, of the scrupulous care with which he has related this history of his experience.

It will be obvious, from the texture of the narrative, that he was uneducated and unaccustomed to indite history.

Lapse of time, and lapse of life are fast extinguishing the traditions

——— "Of most disastrous chances,
"Of moving accidents, by flood and field;
"Of hair-breadth scapes,"—

and all the hazards of border life and frontier adventure. Yet many of those traditions might yet be rescued from total extinguishment. There are still living a number of old (they are now very old) persons who would love to

———"Speak of some distressful stroke
That (their) youth suffered."—

I cannot now recall many to my remembrance; but I recollect Mr. Wm. Arbuckle on Kenawha, who I believe is still living, and Mrs. Erskine of Monroe, who saw and heard much, and like all others, in the advance of years, would doubtless, dilate with pleasure, upon the reminiscences of youth.

Your friend,

CH. A. STUART.

To THOMAS JEFFERSON STUART, Esq.
Richmond, Virginia.

RECORD OF

GRACE SHERWOOD'S TRIAL

FOR WITCHCRAFT,

In 1705, *in Princess Anne County, Virginia.*

PRESENTED BY

PRESIDENT CUSHING,

To the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society,

ON THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY, 1833.

BELLE FARM, October 1st, 1832.

Sir,

I have just received the enclosed record of the trial of Grace Sherwood, before the county court of Princess Anne, for witchcraft,—which I forward, in compliance with the promise I made when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Gloucester last spring.—it is a curious document, and proves that the belief in witchcraft was not confined to New England—it may also serve to throw some light on the state of society which existed in Virginia at the period the transaction occurred.

My impression is, that the record sent me by the clerk is imperfect, and that an order was made, subsequent to that of the 10th July, 1706, directing Grace Sherwood to be sent on to the general court, for further trial:—if any proceedings were there had, the records of that court will show them.

With sentiments of respect,

I remain your obedient servant,

ARCHD. TAYLOR.

To PRESIDENT CUSHING,

Of Hampden Sidney College.

RECORD OF THE

TRIAL OF GRACE SHERWOOD,

In 1705, Princess Anne County,

FOR WITCHCRAFT.

Princess Anne ss.

At a Court held ye: 3d. of Janry: $170\frac{5}{6}$ p. Gent: Mr. Beno: Burro: Collo: Moseley, Mr. John Cornick Capt: Hancock, Capt: Chapman

Justices

Whereas Luke Hill & uxor *somd* Grace Sherwood to this Court in *suspetion* of witchcraft & she fayling to *apear* it is therefore ordr. yt: attachmt. to ye: Sherr do Issue to attach her body to ansr. ye. sd: *som* next Court.

Princess Anne ss.

At a Court held ye. 6th: ffebry: $170\frac{5}{6}$ p: Esent. Colo. Moseley, Collo. Adam Thorrowgood Capt: Chapman, Capt. Hancocke Mr. John Cornick, Mr. Richason, Came late

Justices

Suite for *suspition* of Witchcraft brought by Luke Hill agt: Grace Sherwood is ordr: to be refert till to morro:

Princess Ann ss.

At a Court held ye: 7th ffebry: $170\frac{5}{6}$ p. Gent. Collo: Moseley Left: Collo: Thorrowgood Mr. John Richason, Mr. John Cornick Capt. Chapman, Capt: Hancock

Justices

Whereas a Complt: was brought agt: Grace Sherwood upon *suspition* of witchcraft by Luke Hill &c. & ye: matter being after a long time debated & ordr. yt: ye: sd. Hill pay all fees of this Complt: & yt: ye: sd. Grace be here next Court to be Searched according to ye: Complt: by a Jury of women to decide ye: sd: Differr: and ye. Sherr: is Likewise ordr: to som an able Jury accordingly.

Princess Ann ss.

At a Court held ye. 7th March $170\frac{5}{6}$. Col: Edward Moseley, Lieut: Adam Thorrowgood, Majr. Henry Sprat—Captn: Horatio Woodhouse, Mr. John Cornick Capt: Henry Chapman, Mr. Wm. Smith, Mr. Jno Richason Captn. Geo. Hendcock

Justices

Whereas a Complaint have been to this *Duq* Court by Luke Hill & his wife yt. one Grace Sherwood of ye. County was and have been a long time suspected of witchcraft & have been as such represented wherefore ye. Sherr. at ye. last court was ordr: som a Jury of women to ye. Court to *serch* her on ye. sd. suspicion she assenting to ye. same—and after ye. Jury was impannelled and sworn & sent out to make due inquirery & inspection into all cercumstances after a mature consideration they bring in yr. verditt; were of ye. Jury have sercath: Grace Sherwood & have found two things like *titts* wth: severall other spotts—Eliza. Barnes, forewoman, Sarah Norris, Margt. Watkins, Hannah *Dimis*, Sarah Goodaerd, Mary Burgess, Sarah Sergeent, Winiford Davis, Ursula Henly, Ann Bridgts, Exable Waplies—Mary Cotle.

At a court held ye. 2nd. May 1706 Present Mr. Jno. Richason, Maj. Henrey Spratt Mr. John Cornick, Capt: Henry Chapman, Mr. Wm Smyth Justices

Whereas a former Complt. was brought agt Grace Sherwood for suspicion of Witchcraft, wth. by ye. attorny Genll: report to his Excly. in Councll was to Generall & not charging her with any perticular act therefore represented to yem: yt. Princess Ann Court might if they thought fitt have her examined de novo & ye. Court being of opinion yt. there is great cause of suspicion doe therefore ordr. yt. ye. Sherr. take ye. said Grace into his safe costody untill she shall give bond & security for her appearance to ye. next Court to be examined De novo & yt. ye. Constable of yt. pr sinkt goe with ye. Sherr: & serch ye. said Graces house & all suspicious places carfully for all Images & such like things as may any way strengthen the suspicion & it is likewise ordered yt. ye. Sherr: som an able Jury of women also all evidences as cann give in any thing agt: her in evidence in behalf of our Sovereign Lady ye. Qeen to attend ye. next Court accordingly.

Princess Ann ss.

At a Court held ye. 6th. June 1706. Present Mr. Jno. Richason: Capt Horatio Woodhouse Mr. John Cornick, Capt Henry Chapman, Capt: Wm Smith, Capt: Geo: Hancock

Justices.

Whereas Grace Sherwood, of ye. County have been Complained of as a person suspected of witchcraft & now being brought before this Court in Crde: for examinacon ye. have therefore requested Mr. Maxmt: Bonsh to present informacon agt her as Councill in behalf of our sovereign lady ye. Qeen in order to her being brought to a regular triall.

Whereas an Information in behalf of her Magē. was presented by

Luke Hill to ye. Court in pursuance to Mr. Genell. Attey's Tomson report on his Excellcy: ordr. in Councill ye. 16th Aprill last about Grace Sherwood being suspected of Witchcraft have thereupon sworn severall evidences agt. her by wth: it doth very likely appear.

Princess Anne ss

At a Court held the 7th: of June 1706. Mr. Jno. Richason, Majr. Henry Spratt Mr. John Cornick, Captn: Chapman Captn. Wm Smyth, Capt: Geo: Hancock

Justices

Whereas at the last Court an ordr. was past yt: ye. Sherr: should sommons an able Jury of women to serch Grace Sherrwood on suspicion of witchcraft wch: although ye. same was performed by ye. Sherr: yet they refused, and did not appear it is therefore Ordr. yt. ye. same persons be again somd. by ye. Sherr: for their contempt to be dealt wth: according to ye. utmost severity of ye. law, & yt. a new Jury of women be by him somd. to appear next Court to serch her on ye. aforesd. suspicion & yt. He likewise som all evidences yt. he shall be informed of as materiall in ye. Complaint & yt. She continue in ye. Sherr: Costody unless she give good bond and security for her appearance at ye. next Court and yt. she be of good behaviour towards her Majesty & all her leidge people in ye. meantime.

Princess Anne ss

At a Court held ye. 5th. July Anno Dom: 1706. Present Mr Jno Richason, Captn. Jno Moseley Captn. Henry Chapman, Captn Wm: Smyth

Justices

Whereas for this severall Courts ye. bussiness between Luke Hill & Grace Sherwood on suspicion of Witchcraft have been for severall

things omitted particularly for want of a Jury to serch her & ye. Court being doubtfull that they should not get one ys. Court & being willing to have all means possible tryed either to acquit her or to give more strength to ye. suspicion yt. she might be dealt with as deserved therefore It was Ordr. yt. ys. day by her own consent to be tryed in ye. water by ducking, but ye. weather being very rainy & bad soe yt. possibly it might endanger her health it is therefore ordr. yt. ye. Sherr: request ye. Justices p e. essvly to appear on Wednessday next by tenn of ye. Clock at ye. Court-house & yt. he secure the body of ye. sd. Grace till ye. time to be forthcoming yn. to be dealt wth. as aforesd.

Princess Ann ss

At a Court held ye. 10th: July 1706. Present: Col: Moseley, Captn Moseley Capt: Woodhouse, Mr John Cornick, Capt Chapman Capt: Wm Smyth—Mr Richason—came late—

Justices

Whereas Grace Sherrwood being suspected of Witchcraft have a long time waited for a ffit upportunity ffor a ffurther examinacon & by her consent & approbacon of ye. Court it is ordr. yt. ye. Sherr: take all such convenient assistance of boats & men as shall be by him thought ffit to meet at Jno. Harpers plantacon in orde. to take ye. sd. Grace forthwith & *but* her into above mans *deoth* & try her how she swims therein, alwayes having care of her life to pe.serve her from drowning & as soon as she comes out yt. he request as many antient & knowing women as possible he cann to serch her carefully for all teats, Spotts & marks about her body not usuall on others & yt. as they find ye. same to make report on oath to ye. truth thereof to ye. Court & further it is ordr. yt. som women be requested to shift &. serch her before she goe into ye. water yt. she carry nothing about her to cause any ffurther serspicion.

(Same Day & only one order between the above order & the following. ☞I suppose the Court which was then held at the Ferry "Jno. Harper's plantation" & about one mile from witch duck, went to see this ceremony or trial made.☜ Clk:)

Whereas on complaint of Luke Hill in behalf of her Magesty yt. now is agt: Grace Sherrwood for a pe:son suspected of withcraft & having had sundey: evidences sworne agt: her proving many cercumstances & which she could not make any excuse or little or nothing to say in her own behalf only seemed to rely on wt. ye. Court should doe & thereupon consented to be tryed in ye. water & likewise to be serched againe wth. experimts: being tryed & she swiming Wn. therein & bound contrary to custom & ye. Judgts. of all the spectators & afterwards being serched by ffive antient *weamen* who have all declared on oath yt. she is not like ym: nor noe other woman yt. they knew of having two things like titts on her private parts of a Black coller being blacker yn: ye: rest of her body all wth: cercumstance ye. Court weighing in their consideracon doe therefore ordr. yt. ye. Sherr: take ye. sd. Grace into his costody & to comit her body to ye. common Joal of this County their to secure her by irons or otherwise there to remain till such time as he shall be otherwise directed in ordr. for her coming to ye. common goal of ye: Countey to be brought to a ffuture tryall there.

[Copy] J. J. BURROUGHS, *C. C.*

Prs. Anne County Clerk's Office, 15 *Sept.* 1832.

NOTE. The copy of the Record in the above case, seems to have been made out with great care by the clerk. The orthography, abbreviations, and other peculiarities of character, have been preserved in type with as much accuracy as possible; still, in some few instances, it has been found difficult to decypher the copy.